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# HISTORY

OF THE LATER

# ROMAN COMMONWEALTH,

FROM THE END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR TO THE

DEATH OF JULIUS CÆSAR;

B 1564

AND OF THE

# REIGN OF AUGUSTUS:

WITH A

## LIFE OF TRAJAN.

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BY

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REPUBLISHED FROM "THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA."

VOL. II.

NEW EDITION.

LONDON:

T. FELLOWES; F. AND J. RIVINGTON; E. HODGSON; J. BAIN; AND SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, AND CO.: ALSO, J. H. AND J. PARKER, OXFORD; AND DEIGHTON, BELL, AND CO., CAMBRIDGE.

1857.

Provost's
31519.

LONDON :
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

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OF

# VOLUME II.

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# HISTORY

OF THE

# LATER ROMAN COMMONWEALTH.

## CHAPTER IX.

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.—A SKETCH OF THE ROMAN HISTORY FROM THE APPOINTMENT OF CÆSAR TO THE COMMAND IN GAUL TO HIS DEATH.—FROM U.C. 695 TO 710, A.C. 59 TO 44. [CONTINUED.]

CHAP. IX. From U.C. 695 to 710, A.C. 59 to 44. Cæsar pursues Pompey.

Cæsar was fully aware of the importance of pursuing Pompey, as he knew that the whole cause of the Commonwealth depended on him alone; and that, if he were once removed, his partisans would instantly be divided, and probably only a small portion of them would be inclined to continue the contest. Accordingly, while M. Antonius led the greater part of the victorious army back to Brundisium [1], Cæsar himself crossed by the Hellespont into Asia, and by the fame of his arrival dissipated an assemblage of

[1] Cicero, Philippic. II. 24. Cæsar, III. 105, 106.

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some citizens of rank, who had been called together at Ephesus to sanction the removal of the treasures of the temple of Diana, for the service of Pompey and the Commonwealth. After a short stay in the province of Asia, he received information that Pompey had been seen at Cyprus; and thinking it probable that he would seek an asylum in Egypt, he resolved to follow him thither. Already the news of the battle of Pharsalia, and of the flight of Pompey, had induced many of the squadrons which had been sent to support the cause of the Commonwealth by the states in alliance with Rome, to return to their own countries. The Egyptian fleet had been one of this number; whilst the Rhodians, taking a more decisive part, had excluded Pompey, as we have seen, from their harbours, and now furnished Cæsar with ten ships of war, to enable him to follow the man in whose cause they themselves had been so lately engaged. These, with a few other vessels procured in the ports of the province of Asia, sufficed to transport the two incomplete legions, which at this moment were the whole of Cæsar's disposable force, and of which one had followed him immediately from Pharsalia, and the other had been sent for from the south of Greece, where it had been employed on a separate service, and consequently had not been present at the late battle. With these two legions he landed at Alexandria, and there was informed of Pompey's murder, and saw his head and his ring presented to him as a grateful offering by the murderers. He is said to have shed tears at

He arrives in Egypt, and is there involved in a war, by his interference in the disputes of Ptolemy

the sight[2]; and those signs of mere physical susceptibility, so little imply any real humanity of character, that they flowed very probably from a spontaneous feeling; and Cæsar may have indulged them with pleasure, flattering himself that they were a proof of the tenderness of his nature. At any rate it cost him no effort to refuse any expressions of gratitude to the murderers; for he was immediately involved in a quarrel with them, because he claimed the right, as Roman consul[3], to arbitrate in all disputes which related to the execution of the late king's will. Thus the very interference, from the fear of which Ptolemy's counsellors had resolved to murder Pompey, now threatened them in a much more alarming shape, when Cæsar announced it as his decision that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should both dismiss their armies, and repair to his quarters at Alexandria, there to state their respective pretensions before him. The king's officers, indignant at the affront thus offered to the crown of Egypt, instantly brought up their army from the Syrian frontiers, and prepared to attack Cæsar; but the young king himself, with his tutor and minister Pothinus, was already in Alexandria, and in Cæsar's power; so that the attempts of his subjects to deliver him were represented by his oppressor as a rebellion against his authority. Cleopatra too was in Cæsar's quarters; but she was no unwilling prisoner, if the

[2] Plutarch, in Cæsare, 48. Livy, Epitome, CXII.

[3] Cæsar, III. 107.

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common stories of the time may be credited[4], which tell us, that trusting to the influence of her charms she readily obeyed Cæsar's summons, and finding that access to him was precluded by the besieging army of her brother, she caused herself to be wrapped up in a package of carpeting, and in this manner was safely conveyed into Cæsar's presence. It is added, that she was not disappointed in her expectations; that Cæsar's interference in the dispute between her and her brother, which had originated in political and ambitious motives, was continued after his interview with Cleopatra from feelings of a different nature; and that his passion for her involved him more deeply in a contest, in which he had at first found himself engaged unexpectedly, and from which, when it became serious, he might otherwise have deemed it politic to extricate himself. Be this as it may, Cæsar remained some months at Alexandria, maintaining a difficult and sometimes a perilous struggle with the Egyptians. Without entering here into the detail of his adventures, we must take a survey of the state of the Roman empire during his absence, and describe the effects of his victory at Pharsalia, and of that subsequent neglect of his affairs which delayed for two years the full enjoyment of its advantages.

Proceedings of Pompey's partisans after the battle of Pharsalia.

If Pompey ever received intelligence, during his flight, of the services performed by his navy in the seas westward of Greece, and of the sudden check

[4] Plutarch, in Cæsare, 49. Dion Cassius, XLII. 201, edit. Leunclav.

given to this career of success by the fatal issue of the battle of Pharsalia, he must have been most bitterly sensible of his error in staking his fortunes on the event of a general action by land. At the very moment when he was escaping as a fugitive from the scene of his defeat in Thessaly, one of his squadrons was again blockading the harbour of Brundisium [5]; and another, under the command of C. Cassius, was infesting the coasts of Sicily, and had lately burnt the entire fleet of the enemy, amounting to thirty-five ships, in the harbour of Messina. But the news of Pompey's defeat at once deterred his lieutenants from pursuing their advantages; their squadrons retreated from the coasts of Italy and Sicily, and repaired to Corcyra, at which place the principal surviving leaders of the party of the Commonwealth were at this time assembled. We have already mentioned that M. Cato had been left with fifteen cohorts to defend Dyrrhachium, when Pompey set out in pursuit of Cæsar into Thessaly, and that M. Cicero, M. Varro, and some other distinguished individuals, had remained from different causes at Dyrrhachium also. In the midst of their anxiety for the issue of the campaign, T. Labienus arrived a fugitive from the rout of Pharsalia [6], and the tidings which he brought produced at once a general consternation and disorder. The magazines of corn were presently sacked by the soldiers, who, considering the war as ended, were resolved to pay

[5] Cæsar, III. 100, 101.

[6] Cicero, de Divinatione, I. 31.

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themselves as they best could for their services; nor could they be induced to accompany their officers in their flight, but proceeded to burn the transports in the harbour, that none of their number might be able to separate their fortunes from those of the rest. But the ships of war for the most part were still faithful, and in these the chiefs of the vanquished party hastened to escape to Corcyra. When they had reached that island a new scene of distraction ensued. The command of the forces was offered to Cicero, as he was the oldest senator present of consular dignity[7]; but he, being determined to take no further part in the contest, declined it; and being protected, as it is said, by Cato, from the violence of Cn. Pompeius, Pompey's eldest son, who wished to kill him as a deserter from the cause of the Commonwealth, he returned to Italy to throw himself on the mercy of the victorious party. D. Lælius[8], one of the commanders of the Asiatic squadron in Pompey's fleet, followed the example of Cicero. There were others, and these formed a considerable body, who neither chose to continue the war nor to submit to Cæsar, but who resolved for the present to remain in Greece, and there to observe from a distance the course of events at Rome. But Cato[9], Cn. Pompeius[10], Labienus, and several others, hoping that

Cato withdraws to Africa.

[7] Plutarch, in Cicerone, 39.

[8] Cicero, ad Atticum, XI. epist. VII. XIV.

[9] Dion Cassius, XLII. 190, 191. Plutarch, in Catone, 56.

[10] We had originally added here the name of Afranius, on the authority of Dion Cassius. But, if Afranius had been with Cato, the command would naturally have devolved on him, as being a person of consular dignity; exactly

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Pompey would be able to make a stand in some of the eastern provinces, determined to carry their fleet thither in order to join him; and accordingly set sail to the south without delay. They touched at Patræ, on the coast of Peloponnesus, and there took on board Petreius and Faustus Sylla, after which they continued their voyage to the coast of Africa. Here they met with Cornelia and her son Sextus Pompeius, who, finding no secure asylum in the east, were now probably flying to the province of Africa, which, since the death of Curio, had remained in the peaceable possession of the friends of the Commonwealth. On receiving the disastrous tidings of Pompey's murder, a fresh division took place amongst his partisans. C. Cassius, afterwards so distinguished, abandoned his associates, and sailed at once with the Syrian squadron, which he commanded, to Syria, intending to offer his submission to Cæsar. Cato, and those who with him were resolved to persist in their opposition to the prevailing party, saw that the province of Africa was now the quarter which held out to them the most favourable prospects. The com-

on the same principle that Cato, on his arrival in the province of Africa, ceded the chief authority to Scipio. Again, we have followed Dion Cassius in representing C. Cassius as only leaving Cato on the news of Pompey's death; but it seems probable, from one of Cicero's letters, that he sailed directly from Corcyra to Syria to offer his submission, as soon as he had received the news of the battle of Pharsalia. Epist. ad Familiar. XV. epist. XV. Appian confounds C. Cassius with his brother Lucius, and supposes him to have been in the Hellespont with his fleet when Cæsar crossed over into Asia in pursuit of Pompey. So difficult is it to ascertain the truth, even in such indifferent matters, when good contemporary testimony fails us.

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mand of the forces was by common consent bestowed on Cato; and he resolved to attempt to carry his troops by land across the desert from Cyrene to the frontiers of the Roman province; whether it was that the departure of the Syrian squadron had deprived him of the means of transporting his whole force by sea; or whether the navigation of the neighbourhood of the great Syrtes was looked upon as more formidable than the fatigues and privations likely to attend on the march by land. However, the army arrived in the province in safety, and found that Scipio had already escaped thither from Pharsalia, and that Juba, king of Mauritania, was disposed, as heretofore, to support the cause of Pompey to the uttermost. Meantime the tyranny and exactions of Q. Cassius Longinus [11], whom Cæsar had left with the chief command in what was called Further Spain, and who, when tribune of the people, had fled with M. Antonius from Rome to Cæsar's quarters at the beginning of the contest, had provoked a very serious mutiny among the legions of his province. The troops, supported by the inhabitants of Corduba, transferred their obedience to M. Marcellus, his quæstor; and some of them were inclined to espouse the cause of Pompey, had not Marcellus, though not without difficulty, prevented them; being himself, it is said, not inclined to take so decisive a step till the state of Pompey's affairs in other quarters should appear more promising. At

Unpromising state of Cæsar's affairs in different parts of the empire. 1. In Spain. Mutiny of the troops against Q. Cassius Longinus.

[11] Auctor de Bell. Alexandrino, 48, et seq. Dion Cassius, XLII. 192.

length the disturbance was appeased by the arrival of M. Lepidus, proconsul of the province of Hither Spain, who took the command of the revolted legions without resistance; and soon after C. Trebonius was sent to supersede Cassius Longinus in the command of the Further Province; and the ex-governor, while proceeding to Italy by sea with the plunder which he had acquired by his exactions, was lost in a storm at the mouth of the Ebro. It appears that Cæsar attached great importance to the service which Lepidus had rendered him on this occasion, insomuch that he afterwards rewarded him with the honours of a triumph [12]; and indeed the mutiny of the legions in Spain produced a strong sensation in Italy [13], coupled as it was with the tidings of the great force acquired by Scipio and Cato in Africa, and of some disasters which had befallen Cæsar's arms at the same time in Illyricum and in Asia Minor. M. Octavius [14], whom we have already had occasion to mention as the commander of one of the squadrons in Pompey's fleet, had lingered in the Illyrian seas after Cato's departure from Corcyra; partly relying on the courage and fidelity of some of the native tribes of Illyricum, and partly, perhaps, hoping to organize a force out of the remains of Pompey's army, which were still numerous, although in a state of dispersion and despondency. The absence of Cæsar favoured his hopes; many persons of

2. In Illyricum. Defeat and death of A. Gabinius.

[12] Dion Cassius, XLIII. 214, edit. Leunclav.

[13] Cicero, ad Atticum, XI. epist. X. XVI.

[14] Auctor de Bell. Alexandrino, 42, et seq.

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distinction, who had remained in Greece rather than follow Cato into Africa, and who would have submitted to Cæsar at once if he had returned directly to Rome, began now to accuse themselves of pusillanimity, when they heard of the war which was beginning in Egypt; and some of them began to draw together into Illyricum, and to put themselves into a hostile attitude. Upon this, A. Gabinius, Cicero's ancient enemy, who, in his tribuneship, had proposed to invest Pompey with the extraordinary command against the pirates, and who now, like most other men of equal profligacy, was the partisan of Cæsar, received orders to cross over from Italy with some legions that had been lately raised, and secure Illyricum and Macedonia. But Gabinius found himself unequal to the task imposed on him; the country, which was the seat of war, was unable to support his army, and the stormy season was by this time arrived, which rendered his supplies by sea very precarious. He struggled to relieve his wants by taking some of the strongholds occupied by the enemy; and in these attempts, being often repulsed with loss, he was at last obliged to retreat to Salona, a town on the sea-coast, in which he hoped to defend himself during the winter. But the Illyrians attacked him on his march, and defeated him with considerable loss, so that he reached Salona in a very miserable condition; and, being blockaded by the victorious enemy, and reduced to great extremities, he was taken ill in the course of a few months, and died. His disasters

were afterwards retrieved by P. Vatinius, a man of equally profligate character, who, in his tribuneship, had rendered himself the tool of Cæsar, and on whose motion Cæsar had been originally appointed to his fatal command in Gaul. Vatinius obliged Octavius to resign the contest and escape to Africa; and in a short time from his first arrival in Illyricum, he reduced the whole province to a state of obedience. But before this change took place, and while Gabinius was shut up in Salona, the aspect of Cæsar's affairs was very unpromising; and it was at the same time that another of his lieutenants, Cn. Domitius Calvinus, sustained a severe defeat in Asia from Pharnaces, the son of the famous Mithridates. This prince having received from the Romans the kingdom of the Bosphorus[15], or what is now the Crimea, as the reward of his treason against his father, now, it seems, wished to avail himself of the distracted state of the Roman empire to recover some other parts of his hereditary dominions, and began to invade Cappadocia and the Lesser Armenia, which were possessed by two petty princes under the protection of Rome. Application was presently made by one of them to Cn. Domitius Calvinus for aid, as Cæsar had intrusted that officer with the chief command in the different provinces of Asia Minor; and, after some fruitless attempts at negotiation, Domitius advanced with an army into the Lesser Armenia; and there coming to an engage-

3. In Asia. Defeat of Cn. Domitius Calvinus by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates.

[15] Appian, de Bell. Mithridat. 113. Auctor de Bell. Alexand. 34, et seq.

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ment with Pharnaces, he was defeated, and obliged to fall back as far as the province of Asia. Pharnaces, meanwhile, overran the whole of Pontus, which had been the chief seat of his father's government, and congratulated himself on having so soon recovered so large a portion of that which Mithridates had lost. During all this time Cæsar was still in Egypt; and the various reports which arrived from that country, together with the certain ill success of his affairs in other quarters, produced a constant accession of strength to the party of the Commonwealth in Africa.

State of Rome and of Italy.

From this sketch of the condition of some of the provinces, we turn back, with an eager curiosity, to inquire what was the state of Rome itself, and with what temper the bodies, which still retained the names of the senate and people, were disposed to receive their new master. After Cicero had crossed over into Greece, about the middle of the year 704, to join the army of the Commonwealth, none, it is probable, remained in Italy but such as were the active partisans, or the unresisting slaves of Cæsar. Among the latter was T. Pomponius Atticus, who, according to the tenets of the Epicureans, considered it an unwise disturbance of his enjoyments to take any part in political contests, calculating that, whatever became of the liberties of his country, he should still retain his own villas and gardens through the influence of his friends on one side or on the other. Men of this stamp were a clay that might be moulded to any shape at the pleasure of the conqueror; and

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the daily growth of this selfish spirit, under pretence of an aversion to the horrors of a civil war, will easily account for the introduction of that mere despotism which was established as soon as the contest in Africa was decided. Out of the capital it seemed vain to look for any remains of public feeling: some of the boldest and hardiest of the Italian tribes had been nearly extirpated by Sylla's victories and massacres; the general admission of the Italians to the privileges of Roman citizens would naturally attract the most enterprising and active part of the population to Rome; and their places would be ill supplied by that multitude of disbanded soldiers whom Sylla had converted into landed proprietors, by settling them in the districts which he had desolated. It is probable, that many of these soldiers would soon, moreover, be glad to part with their land, either to cover their losses in farming, or to supply their extravagances. As early as the period of Catiline's conspiracy, we find many of them ready to promote a new scramble for plunder; and in the fourteen years which had since elapsed, we may suspect that a very large proportion of the estates, granted by Sylla to his veterans, had passed into the hands of the great nobility, by whom the soil of Italy was so generally monopolized. Wherever land was held by a proprietor of this description, the free population quickly withered away, and slaves were the only cultivators, and the only inhabitants. The towns were overwhelmed by the disproportionate greatness of the capital, and were each of too little importance to form a rallying point in opposition to

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Rome; whilst the local distinctions and prejudices which divided the Tuscan from the Campanian, or the Apulian from the inhabitant of Picenum, were still too strong to admit of much habitual sympathy of feeling or concert in action between the people of different parts of the peninsula. Besides, they had no longer that peculiar and direct interest in the civil wars of Rome which they had felt in the times of Marius and Sylla. Then every town of Italy was conscious that its enjoyment of the envied privileges of Roman citizens, the elevation of its people from the rank of subjects to sovereigns, would be secured by the victory of Cinna and Carbo, and would be at least endangered by the triumph of the aristocracy. But now, whatever was the issue of the war, Nola and Volaterræ, Asculum and Corfinium, would only share the fate of Rome; and what the capital could submit to endure, the provincial towns could scarcely presume to consider as an evil. It was this want of confidence in themselves, this political helplessness, leading the rest of Italy to follow tamely in the steps of Rome, and disposing the people of Rome itself to rely for every thing upon their government, and to be incapable of any organized exertions among themselves, which, above all other causes, tended to lower the character of the times, and marked each successive generation, during a course of many centuries, with a deeper stain of timidity and weakness [16].

[16] It implies a much higher national character to be anxious for the general liberty, good government, and positive amelioration of the state of the whole people, than to make a desperate

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Whatever, therefore, might have been their secret wishes, the people of Rome and of Italy had remained tranquil during the campaign in Greece, had given no support to the attempts of Cælius and Milo, and were now ready to receive the destruction of their liberties as the natural consequence of the battle of Pharsalia. After that battle, M. Antonius, as we have seen, returned with the greater part of the victorious legions to Italy. It was soon shown that the power of the sword was henceforth to be paramount; the troops were quartered on the inhabitants of the different towns, and indulged themselves in the full license of unrestrained soldiers[17]; the general, after exhibiting a second time a scene of scandalous debauchery in his progress through the country, arrived at Rome, and there commenced the work of confiscation and pillage. We hear nothing further of P. Servilius, who was the nominal consul of the republic; the government of Italy seems to have been vested solely in Antonius, although he possessed no other title than that of Cæsar's lieutenant. But it was soon proposed that the office of dictator should be again conferred

struggle for the removal of invidious distinctions between one class of the community and another. The Romans and the Italians had vigour enough to do the latter, but they wanted the much higher qualities requisite to ensure the former. In like manner, Napoleon Buonaparte has observed, "Que le peuple Français tenait plus à l'égalité qu' à la liberté." (Mémoires, I. 145.) The revolution succeeded completely in destroying the offensive privileges possessed by the aristocracy; but it may be doubted whether, even at this day, the French entertain a just value for the general freedom and political welfare of the whole state; and it is certain that they did not do so twenty years ago.

[17] Cicero, Philippic. II. 25.

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Cæsar appointed dictator, M. Antonius master of the horse.

on Cæsar, although he was then far from Italy; and when this power was bestowed on him, by a vote of the people, for the term of a year, M. Antonius was, at the same time, named his master of the horse, and thus appeared to be in some sort invested with a legal authority. It is said by Dion Cassius [18], that a vote of the people empowered Cæsar to punish the adherents of Pompey as he thought proper, and gave him besides the power of consul for five years, and that of tribune of the people for life. There was no reasonable ground for bestowing these unusual honours; for the original pretext of Cæsar's rebellion was merely to place himself on a level with Pompey in retaining or resigning his province, and to obtain the right of becoming a candidate for the consulship. He was now at this time consul, and Pompey's death had left him not only without a superior in dignity, but without an equal. He had already gained, therefore, all that he pretended to fight for; and a general amnesty might now have been passed, which, while it saved him from the punishment due to his treason, would have left him in undisputed possession of the first place in the Commonwealth. Nor had he, like Sylla, any public evils to remedy; no undue preponderance of the aristocratical or of the populur party required the aid of a legislator with absolute powers to restore the constitution to a healthier condition. There were no wrongs to be redressed, but those which he had himself caused; nor was there any

[18] XLII. 194.

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voice which called for a reform of the constitution except that of his own ambition.

Disturbances caused by P. Dolabella in his tribuneship. U.C. 706.

It is probable that Cæsar's protracted absence, and the want of all ordinary magistrates at Rome, impelled individuals of the victorious party to aspire to greatness independently of the patronage of their chief. P. Dolabella [19], Cicero's son-in-law, procured his election, as one of the tribunes of the people, for the year 706; and when he had entered on his office, he began to revive the laws lately proposed by M. Cælius, for exempting tenants from all demands for the rent of their houses during one year, and for a general abolition of debts. The master of the horse was likely, he thought, to support him, both from personal friendship, and from his general inclination to uphold the cause of the needy and the profligate, and if his countenance could be procured, there was no effectual opposition to be dreaded. L. Trebellius, indeed, one of Dolabella's colleagues [20], attempted to defend the interests of landlords and creditors, and scenes of great disorder were frequently exhibited in the streets of Rome in consequence of these disputes, in the course of which many lives were lost on both sides; but as long as M. Antonius allowed Dolabella to go on with impunity, his party was likely to prevail in the contest. But the senate called upon the master of the horse to exert his power for the preservation of the public peace; and it was rumoured that he was made

[19] Dion Cassius, XLII. 198. XXIII. Cicero, ad Atticum, XI. epist.

[20] Cicero, Philippic. VI. 4.

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acquainted at this time with a criminal intercourse subsisting between Dolabella and some female friend or relation of his own [21]. This private injury made him more willing to listen to the senate's call; he brought troops into the city, and when the populace broke out into a riot in support of Dolabella's laws, he chastised them with great severity, and is said to have put no fewer than 800 of the rioters to the sword [22]. The present masters of the Commonwealth, although at the beginning of their career they professed to espouse the popular party, had now obtained a power which enabled them to cast off their old connexions; and declared, by their conduct, that it was to the swords of a disciplined army, and not to the uncertain favour of a tumultuous populace, that they were resolved to owe their ascendancy.

Discontents in Cæsar's army in Italy.

Yet at this very time the obedience of the army itself was beginning to waver. Antonius, while indulging in every excess himself, connived, it is probable, at many irregularities in the conduct of the soldiers; and the other officers [23], from a wish to gain popularity, or from the natural relaxation consequent upon victory, permitted the discipline of the troops to be seriously impaired. It was known that Cæsar intended to transport his veteran legions into Africa, as soon as the affairs of the East should leave him at liberty; and the soldiers were highly dissatisfied at finding that they were to be exposed to

[21] Plutarch, in Antonio, 9.
[22] Livy, Epitome, CXIII.
[23] Auctor de Bell. Alexand. 65.

another campaign [24], while no mention was heard of fulfilling the promises which had been made to them on former occasions. They confirmed one another in their resolutions not to leave Italy till their previous claims were satisfied; and when P. Sylla, an officer of high rank [25], who had commanded the right wing of Cæsar's army at Pharsalia, endeavoured to pacify them, the soldiers of the twelfth legion assailed him with stones, so that he narrowly escaped with his life. Several other persons experienced the same treatment, and some individuals of prætorian dignity are said to have been actually murdered by the mutineers [26]. Intelligence of these disorders quickened Cæsar's wish to return to Italy. He had at last, about the middle of the year 706, brought the war in Egypt to a conclusion, by placing Cleopatra and her younger brother on the throne [27], as the elder Ptolemy had perished in the course of the contest; and from Egypt he had marched into Syria, and thence to Cilicia and Cappadocia; arranging on his way the affairs of those several provinces, receiving the submissions of all the petty princes or chiefs dependent on the Roman empire, and continuing them in their respective governments on such conditions as he judged proper. These matters were easily and quickly settled; but Pharnaces, king of the Bosphorus, was likely to occa-

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Cæsar leaves Egypt.

He passes through Syria and Cilicia.

[24] Cicero, ad Atticum, XI. epist. XX. XXII.

[25] Cicero, ad Atticum, XI. epist. XXI. XXII.

[26] Plutarch, in Cæsare, 51. Dion Cassius, XLII. 209.

[27] Auctor de Bell. Alexand. 33—65, et seq.

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sion a longer yet an unavoidable delay. It was the boast of the Romans never to allow a foreign power to take advantage of their domestic quarrels; and it would have reflected disgrace on Cæsar had he suffered Pharnaces to enjoy his late conquest without molestation, from his eagerness to prosecute his own private contest with his countrymen. Accordingly he called upon Pharnaces to evacuate Pontus without delay; and finding, according to the statement of his anonymous partisan[28], that his demands were evaded, because it was well known how anxious he was to return to Italy, he marched instantly in quest of the enemy. Pharnaces was at this time encamped near Zela[29], a town of Pontus, on the spot on which his father had gained one of his most famous victories over the Romans; and when Cæsar arrived and encamped at no great distance from him, his confidence in the fortune of the place, and in his own recent successes, induced him to attack the Roman army in the strong position which it had occupied. His rashness was quickly punished by a total defeat; he himself fled from the field of battle with only a few horsemen; and the whole of Pontus was lost by this single blow. Cæsar, unusually delighted at this rapid and most seasonable conquest, left two legions to secure Pontus, and himself hastened on his way towards Italy; still however, as before, employing the time on his journey in settling the affairs of the provinces, and accustoming the

He defeats Pharnaces and recovers the province of Pontus.

[28] Auctor de Bell. Alexand. 71.

[29] Auctor de Bell. Alexand. 72, et seq.

petty Asiatic princes to look upon the government of Rome as already become monarchical. It was late in the year [30], according to the corrupt calendar of the period, when he arrived in the capital, and there proceeded to exercise that sovereign authority with which his office of dictator, and still more the swords of his soldiers, had invested him.

He returns to Rome.

M. Antonius, on his return to Italy after the battle of Pharsalia [31], had published an edict by Cæsar's express orders, forbidding all the fugitives of the vanquished party to set foot in Italy without having received their pardon from Cæsar himself. In this manner a multitude of distinguished citizens were condemned to live in banishment; but their property was not in every instance confiscated, and some were afterwards allowed, as we shall see hereafter, to return to their country. The rapacity of the conqueror, however, had been abundantly gratified in the eastern provinces; where he had amassed immense sums [32], partly by imposing fines on those princes or states who had supported the cause of the Commonwealth, partly by the direct plunder of their wealthiest temples, and partly by receiving a price for the grants or titles which he gave or confirmed to any city or individual. But the demands of the approaching campaign in Africa could not be answered without further exactions; and although he had a very considerable fund in the numerous golden

His acts of spoliation and wanton display of power.

[30] Plutarch, in Cæsare, 51.

[31] Cicero, ad Atticum, XI. epist. VII.

[32] Dion Cassius, XLII. 208. Suetonius, in Cæsare, 54.

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crowns, figures, and other articles, which were presented to him from every quarter through fear or flattery, he deemed it expedient, on his arrival in Italy, to raise money to a large amount by compulsory loans from different cities as well as from private individuals; and at the same time he proceeded to confiscate and expose to public sale the property of some of his most distinguished opponents[33], which Antonius had not ventured to touch by his own authority. It was on this occasion that the house and furniture of Pompey the Great were set up to auction by the command of his father-in-law; and that Antonius, amidst the general grief and indignation of the Roman people, became their purchaser. At this time also, if we may believe Dion Cassius[34], Cæsar made some additional regulations in favour of insolvent debtors, and actually enforced the proposed law of Dolabella, for relieving tenants from rent for one year, in all cases where the rent amounted to five hundred denarii, or about 15*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* His chief partisans were rewarded by being appointed to various public offices, of which he assumed the complete disposal; and as a cheap method of gratifying the vanity of some of his associates, he conferred the empty title of consuls, for the short remainder of the year, on Q. Fufius Calenus, his late lieutenant in Achaia, and on P. Vatinius, who had rendered him most important services in Illyricum. The prostitution of a dignity

[33] Cicero, Philippic. II. 26, et seq.

[34] XLII. 209.

so respected excited a general disgust; and in this open assumption of absolute power he already betrayed the same contempt for the feelings of his countrymen which afterwards, when exhibited with still greater aggravation, contributed principally to the fatal conspiracy of the ides of March. But, amongst all this distribution of honours and benefits, the veteran legions found that they were still to trust only to promises; and that the period when they should obtain their discharge, and be rewarded with settlements of lands, was still far distant. Aware of their own importance on the eve of another campaign, but not sufficiently appreciating the able and resolute character of their commander, they broke up from their quarters in Campania [35], and advanced to Rome, committing various excesses on their march, and filling the country and the capital with terror. When they arrived before the city, Cæsar allowed them to enter the walls, retaining only their swords, and instantly presented himself before them in the Campus Martius, and demanded why they had left their quarters, and what they wanted at Rome. They replied that they were come to claim their release from any further service; upon which Cæsar answered, without any apparent reluctance, that their claim was reasonable, and that he would discharge them instantly; assuring them at the same time that all their comrades who had served their full term of years should be discharged

Mutiny of his army.

[35] Dion Cassius, XLII. 209, 210. Appian, de Bello Civili, II. 92, et seq.

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in the same manner, and promising still to give them the settlements in lands which he had before allowed them to look for. The soldiers were not prepared for this treatment, and in proportion to his seeming readiness to part from them, their wish to continue in his service revived. Cæsar perceived his advantage, and persisted in giving them their discharge, expressing particularly his surprise and sorrow to find the soldiers of his favourite tenth legion implicated in this meeting. At last, on their repeated entreaties to be forgiven, he said that he would retain them all except the tenth legion; nor could he be prevailed on to receive that legion into his favour[36], so that it followed him to Africa without his orders, from the mere zeal of the soldiers to do something that might entitle them to pardon. After all, he punished those who had been most active in the mutiny, by depriving them of a third part of their share of the plunder gained in Africa, and of the lands which he afterwards bestowed on his army; some also he actually discharged at once, and settled them in different parts of Italy; and others, it is said, he found means to employ in the most dangerous services in the ensuing campaign[37], and thus freed himself from their turbulence, while he made their deaths useful by occasioning a loss to his enemies.

He quells it by his firmness and address.

Campaign in Africa.

Having thus re-established his authority over his legions, he proceeded with his usual activity to carry

[36] Suetonius, in Cæsare, 70. [37] Dion Cassius, XLII. 211.

the war into Africa. He arrived at Lilybæum, in Sicily[38], on the seventeenth of December, and having waited there till he had assembled a force of six legions, and about two thousand cavalry, he embarked from Sicily on the twenty-seventh, and reached the coast of Africa on the thirtieth. He landed near Adrumetum with no more than three thousand men, the rest of his forces having been dispersed in different directions on their passage; and as he knew not what points of the coast might be least occupied by the enemy, he had been unable before his departure from Sicily to appoint any particular spot as the place of destination for the whole armament. Finding Adrumetum too strongly garrisoned to be attacked with any hope of success, he put his troops in motion again on the first of January, and on the evening of that day halted at Ruspina, from whence he again set out on the following morning, and approached Leptis. The inhabitants of that town sent to offer their submission to him, and he accordingly occupied the gates with a guard, and having given strict orders that no other soldiers should be allowed to enter the walls, he encamped for the night in the neighbourhood of Leptis, and was joined on that very evening by a part of his army from Sicily, which had put in by a fortunate accident at this very point of the coast. On the third of January he returned to Ruspina, and there remained for some time, having collected con-

[38] Auctor de Bello Africano, 1, et seq.

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siderable supplies of provisions from the adjacent country, and having received a large accession of strength by the arrival of another division of the troops from Lilybæum. But his numbers were as yet very inferior to those of the enemy, and he could not depend for the permanent subsistence of his army on the resources of a country which was almost entirely possessed by his opponents. He waited therefore anxiously for the arrival of additional reinforcements, as well as of supplies of provisions from Sicily, Sardinia, and other parts of the empire[39]; whilst he secured himself for the present by bestowing extraordinary care on the fortifications of his camp, and by carrying lines from this and from the town of Ruspina down to the sea-shore, in order that ships might approach the land with safety, and that the succours of whatever kind, which might be contained in them, might reach his camp without molestation.

Forces of Scipio and Cato.

It appears that the supporters of the Commonwealth had by this time organized a very large army in Africa; and that their navy, although not possessing the command of the sea so exclusively as during the campaign in Greece, was yet strong enough to cause great annoyance to the enemy, and during Cæsar's absence in Egypt had made descents on the coasts of Sicily and Sardinia[40], and had carried off from them several vessels, and a considerable quantity of arms. While Italy was suffering under the

[39] Auctor de Bello Africano, 20. [40] Dion Cassius, XLII. 211.

misrule of Antonius, and Rome itself was distracted by the turbulent tribuneship of Dolabella, it was expected that Scipio and Cato would transport their forces from Africa, and avail themselves of so fair an opportunity for regaining possession of the seat of government [41]. But we must suppose that they had not yet collected an army sufficient to encounter Cæsar's veteran legions; and perhaps the want of arms for their regular infantry was a principal obstacle to such an attempt. With cavalry and light troops they were abundantly provided: for the Numidians of the Roman province were admirably calculated for those services, and to them was added the whole force of the kingdom of Mauritania, which Juba furnished to the cause of the Commonwealth. Utica, the most considerable city in Africa, was held by M. Cato [42], and he had made it a great magazine of arms and provisions, as well as a depôt for the new levies which he was constantly forming to reinforce the main army in the field. That army was commanded by Scipio, with the title of proconsul; and although the military talents of the general-in-chief were not very highly distinguished, yet Labienus and Petreius, his principal lieutenants, were officers of great experience and ability.

Difficulties of Cæsar at the opening of the campaign.

In landing on the coast of Africa with a force very inferior to that of his opponents, Cæsar may be supposed to have had two objects in view; first, to prevent the enemy from carrying the war into

[41] Cicero, ad Atticum, XI. epist. XV.

[42] Auctor de Bello Africano, 22. 36. Plutarch, in Catone, 58.

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Italy, and to preserve his usual character of being always the assailant; and, secondly, to deprive them by his presence of some part of the resources of the province, of which otherwise they would have had the complete disposal. His great renown as a general, his success in other parts of the empire, and that character of the lawful representative of the Roman people, which he derived from the possession of the capital, gained him immediately some partisans among the cities and tribes of Africa[43], and thus produced at once a diversion in his favour. Yet soon after his first landing he was severely harassed by the attacks of the enemy's cavalry under Labienus and Petreius; and had Juba united his forces to those of Scipio, their combined efforts might have been too overwhelming for Cæsar to resist. He was saved from this danger by an unexpected interference. P. Sitius, of Nuceria, had been in his early life engaged in money transactions, on a very extensive scale[44], not only with many persons in different parts of the empire, but also with some foreign princes, and amongst the rest with the king of Mauritania, the father of Juba. The sums embarked in these various speculations were not always easily to be recovered: Sitius had incurred heavy debts at Rome, which brought him into the society of dissolute and desperate men, and had made him acquainted with L. Catiline and his associates at the eve of their memorable conspiracy.

Diversion made by P. Sitius in his favour. Adventures of Sitius.

[43] Auctor de Bello Africano, 7. 32, 33.

[44] Cicero, pro P. Syllâ, 20.

Whether he himself entered into their schemes is uncertain. It appears that he went about that period to Africa, professedly to settle some business with the king of Mauritania, but, as many asserted [45], to employ his influence with that prince in levying an armed force against the Commonwealth. However, his innocence or his good fortune saved him from the fate of the other conspirators, and Cicero himself, while defending P. Sylla from the same charge of having been Catiline's accomplice, took occasion equally to deny the accusation against Sitius. But he was a man of ruined fortunes, and it seems that he was afterwards brought before the tribunals for some private offence [46], and was obliged to go into exile. He repaired again to Africa, with an armed force which he had raised in Italy and Spain, and which it seems could easily be collected by any adventurer of notoriety, while every part of the empire was full of slaves and other needy and desperate persons, to whom all change was gain. Thus accompanied, Sitius appeared in Africa, like one of the chiefs of the free companies in Italy during the fourteenth century; and sold his services to the highest bidder in the constant petty wars which the wild tribes and barbarian sovereigns of that country were carrying on against one another. His fame soon became great, for the party which he espoused was always victorious; and if the king of Mauritania was slow in paying his debt to him, we may

[45] Sallust, de Bello Catilinar. 21. Cicero, pro Syllâ, ubi supra.

[46] Appian, de Bello Civili, IV. 54. Dion Cassius, XLIII. 214.

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the less wonder that he readily associated himself with those inferior chiefs who were constantly engaged in predatory warfare with that more powerful sovereign. In this way he was closely united with a prince of the name of Bogud, according to Roman orthography, at the time that Cæsar landed in Africa. By attacking Juba now, Sitius might hope to gain far more than plunder, or the pay of a poor barbarian chief; he might obtain the repeal of his banishment, and expect besides a splendid reward from the sovereign of the Roman empire for a service so seasonably rendered to him. Bogud himself had before shown himself friendly to Cæsar [47], probably because Juba supported the party of Pompey; and now when Juba was on his march to join Scipio with a considerable army, Bogud and P. Sitius attacked his kingdom [48], took Cirta, one of his principal cities, and committed such ravages in his country, that he was obliged to return with his whole force to oppose them, and even to recall the troops which he had before sent to serve under the Roman general, his ally. Meanwhile Cæsar was reinforced by the arrival of two veteran legions from Sicily [49]; and when at length Juba yielded to Scipio's pressing applications, and came to join him, leaving one of his generals to contend with Bogud and Sitius [50], the decisive moment was already passed, and Cæsar's army was now too formidable to be

[47] Auctor de Bello Alexandrino, 59.
[48] Auctor de Bello Africano, 25.
[49] Auctor de Bello Africano, 34.
[50] Auctor de Bello Africano, 48.

seriously injured by any force which Juba could bring against it.

From this time the event of the campaign might be looked for with little hesitation. Cæsar was soon after reinforced by two more of his veteran legions, the ninth and tenth; and he was anxious, as before in Greece, to bring the enemy to a general action as soon as possible. But his situation now was very different from what it had been in his campaign against Pompey. Then he was opposed to a general of talents far less disproportioned to his own, and of reputation equal or even superior; the fleets of his adversaries commanded every sea and cut off all hope of supplies and reinforcements; and the army of the Commonwealth was as yet unvanquished; and under the command of its great leader was daily gaining fresh strength and confidence. At present he was continually receiving deserters from the enemy's army [51], and offers of submission and assistance from the towns of the province and of Mauritania; the regular infantry of his opponents was utterly unable to resist his veteran legions; and the only annoyance which he experienced was from their superior cavalry and light troops, whose attacks became daily less alarming as his soldiers grew more familiar with them, and better understood how to oppose them most effectually. Scipio, indeed, carefully avoided a battle; but the rapidity of Cæsar's movements, and the extraordinary celerity with which his troops

[51] Auctor de Bello Africano, 52. 56.

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Battle of Thapsus.

were accustomed to construct works of every description, at last obliged him to depart from his system of caution. On the fourth of April, Cæsar gained a march upon his antagonists by night [52], and appeared on the following morning before the town of Thapsus, a place which had shown peculiar attachment to Scipio's cause, and which was at this time defended by a strong garrison. Without loss of time, Cæsar began to form lines of circumvallation, and to occupy every important post in the neighbourhood so effectually, that when Scipio arrived to protect the town, he found his communications with it already cut off. Under these circumstances, Scipio, unwilling to abandon so important a place to its fate, prepared to form his camp on a spot upon the sea-shore, from which he hoped to obstruct the operations of the enemy; and whilst he was employed in the construction of the rampart and ditch, he drew out his army in order of battle to cover the parties engaged in the work. In this situation he was attacked by Cæsar and completely defeated. His troops first fled to the camp, which was as yet unfinished, and this being forced, they hastened to the camp they had left the day before, in the hope of being enabled there to make a stand. But finding no officer to rally them, if we may believe the statement of Cæsar's partisan, they fled, as a last resource, towards the camp of Juba, which was at some distance from that of Scipio; but which

[52] Auctor de Bello Africano, 79, et seq.

they now found equally in possession of the victorious enemy. Despairing of any further resistance, the fugitives halted on a neighbouring hill, laid down their arms, and implored quarter. But Cæsar's soldiers, with the ferocity natural to men who respected no law, and who felt that their swords were disposing of the empire of the world, not only massacred the whole of this defenceless multitude, but wounded and murdered several persons of distinction who were present in their own army, against whom they had some supposed grounds of offence. Cæsar himself was an eye-witness of this butchery, which, according to his partisan's narrative, he in vain endeavoured to prevent. Such a scene might have taught him to what a brutal and unmanageable power he had subjected his country; but the crimes of his soldiers were forgotten in the splendour of their victory, by which the campaign was irrecoverably decided. The news of the battle spread rapidly in every direction, with an effect as powerful as the tidings of the rout of Pharsalia two years before. Scipio, with three or four other superior officers, escaped by sea from the scene of their defeat, in the hope of finding an asylum in Spain [53]. They were driven by contrary winds into the port of Hippo, where they were surrounded by a superior naval force, employed, as we are told, in the service of the fugitive, P. Sitius. Scipio's ship was instantly boarded, and he killed himself to avoid falling into

Deaths of Scipio, Juba, Afranius, and Petreius.

[53] Auctor de Bello Africano, 96. Livy, Epitome, CXIV.

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the hands of the enemy; the officers who were with him, amongst whom we find the noble name of L. Manlius Torquatus, either followed his example or were put to death. Of the other generals of the vanquished party, Labienus effected his escape into Spain with Atius Varus and Cn. Pompeius, who, during the late campaign, had both held commands by sea. Juba, accompanied by Petreius, fled to his own dominions [54]; but finding that the forces which he had left to protect them had been totally defeated by Bogud and P. Sitius, and being shut out of Zama, his capital, by his own subjects, who wished to make their peace with the conqueror, he continued his flight to one of his country houses, and there Petreius and he resolved to die by each other's hands. But Juba having easily killed Petreius, and having attempted without effect to stab himself, persuaded one of his own slaves to become his executioner. The fate of Petreius was soon shared by L. Afranius, his former colleague in the command of Pompey's army in Spain. Afranius, with Faustus Sylla [55], while attempting to reach Spain along the northern coast of Africa, fell, together with the wife and children of the latter, into the hands of P. Sitius. They were soon after killed, according to Suetonius and Dion Cassius, by Cæsar's orders; but the statement of Cæsar's partisan attributes their death to a disturbance in the army and the violence of the

[54] Auctor de Bello Africano, 91. 94. Florus, IV. 2. Dion Cassius, XLIII. 219.

[55] Auctor de Bello Africano, 95.

soldiers. The wife of Faustus, who was a daughter of Pompey, was spared, together with her children, and the enjoyment of all her property was granted to her.

Cato attempts in vain to defend Utica.

Intelligence of the battle of Thapsus was brought to Utica by a party of Scipio's cavalry, who were flying from the action under the command of Afranius[56]. With the usual temper of a defeated and desperate army, these fugitives began to revenge themselves for their defeat by plundering and murdering many of the citizens of Utica, who were supposed to be attached to the cause of Cæsar. M. Cato alone, with a spirit unbroken amidst the disasters of his party, in vain endeavoured to give their feelings a better direction, by persuading them to defend the town against the enemy; and when he saw that they could not be induced to do their duty, he distributed a sum of money to every soldier amongst them, to prevail on them to depart without committing any further excesses. They thus pursued their retreat along the coast on their way to Spain, as we have already mentioned; and in the mean time numerous parties of the vanquished army arrived in Utica, with all of whom Cato was earnest in his efforts to induce them to continue the contest, and to maintain the place. But when he found that their minds were possessed by an overwhelming panic, he furnished them with all the ships in the harbour to convey them wherever they wished to

[56] Auctor de Bello Africano, 87, et seq.

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go; and recommended his son and his other friends to the intercession of L. Cæsar, his quæstor, who, as being related to the conqueror, might be supposed to possess some influence with him. His anxiety, however, for the safety of those about him appears less amiable when we find him too proud to accept for himself that mercy which he wished to procure for them, and resisting with passionate violence the solicitations of his son, that he would consent to live for his sake. When the evening came he retired to his own apartment [57], and employed himself for some time in reading one of Plato's "Dialogues," endeavouring, it is said, to lull the suspicions of his friends by seeming to take a lively interest in the fate of those who were escaping by sea from Utica, and by sending several times to the sea-side to learn the state of the wind and of the weather. But towards morning, when all was quiet, he stabbed himself. He fell from his bed with the blow, and the noise of his fall immediately brought his son and his servants into the room, by whose assistance he was raised from the ground, and an attempt was made to bind up the wound. Their efforts to save him were vain; for Cato no sooner had recovered his self-possession, than he tore open the wound again in so effectual a manner that he instantly expired.

He kills himself.

Character of Cato.

Such was the end of a man, whom a better philosophy, by teaching him to struggle with his predominant faults instead of encouraging them, would

[57] Plutarch, in Catone, 70.

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have rendered truly amiable and admirable. He possessed the greatest integrity and firmness; and, from the beginning of his political life, was never swayed by fear or interest to desert that which he considered the cause of liberty and justice. He is said to have foreseen Cæsar's designs long before they were generally suspected; but his well-known animosity against him rendered his authority on the subject less weighty; and his zeal led him to miscalculate the strength of the Commonwealth, when he earnestly advised the senate to adopt those measures which gave Cæsar a pretence for beginning hostilities. During the civil war he had the rare merit of uniting to the sincerest ardour in the cause of his party a steady regard to justice and humanity; he would not countenance cruelty or rapine because practised by his associates or coloured with pretences of public advantage. But the pride and coarseness of mind, of which we have already given some instances in his behaviour to his private friends, overshadowed the last scene of his life, and led him to indulge his selfish feelings by suicide, rather than live for the happiness of his family and friends, and mitigate, as far as lay in his power, the distressed condition of his country. His character however was so pure, and since Pompey's death so superior to all the leaders engaged with him in the same cause, that even his enemy's partisans could not refuse him their respect and praise; and his name has become a favourite theme of panegyric in after-times, as

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End of the war in Africa.

the most upright and persevering defender of the liberties of Rome.

Cæsar meantime was advancing from Thapsus towards Utica[58], and had occupied without resistance, on his march, the towns of Usceta and Adrumetum, in both of which he found considerable magazines of arms and provisions. As he drew near to Utica, he was met by L. Cæsar, who implored his mercy; and to whom, says his partisan, he readily granted it, according to his natural temper and habits of clemency. At the same time he spared the lives of Cato's son and of a number of other individuals who threw themselves on his mercy; but he levied heavy fines on those Roman merchants and citizens of other descriptions who had formed Cato's council, and had contributed money to the cause of the Commonwealth. He imposed also large contributions on the inhabitants of Leptis, Adrumetum, and Thapsus[59]; and sold by auction the property of Juba, and of all the Roman citizens resident in Mauritania who had borne arms in his service; after which he reduced his kingdom to the form of a Roman province, and intrusted the government of it to C. Sallustius Crispus, the historian, with the title of proconsul. On the other hand, Cæsar bestowed rewards on the people of Zama for having excluded their sovereign from their walls; and divided the territories of another Mauritanian prince, who had been Juba's

[58] Auctor de Bello Africano, 89. [59] Auctor de Bello Africano, 97.

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ally, between Bogud and P. Sitius[60]. Having thus brought the war in Africa to a conclusion, he embarked at Utica on the thirteenth of June, and sailed to Sardinia, there to impose fresh fines, and to order confiscations against some towns and individuals that had assisted the party of his adversaries. He sailed from Sardinia again on the twenty-ninth of June, and, after a tedious voyage of eight and twenty days[61], arrived at Rome about the twenty-seventh of July, or, according to the true calculation, about the end of May.

From the date of Cæsar's return from Africa to his assassination, there is a period of somewhat less than two years; and even of this short time nine months were engrossed by the renewal of the war in Spain, which obliged him to leave Rome once more, and contend for the security of his power at the point of the sword. He enjoyed the sovereignty, therefore, which he had so dearly purchased, during little more than one single year; from the end of July, 707, to the middle of the winter, a period of between seven and eight months, owing to the reformation of the calendar which he introduced during this interval; and again, from October, 708, to the ides of March in the following spring. After giving this outline of the order of events, we shall first briefly notice the disturbances in Spain, and in other parts of the empire, by which the tranquillity of Cæsar's sovereignty was interrupted; and shall then

[60] Appian, de Bello Civili, IV. 54.

[61] Auctor de Bello Africano, 98.

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endeavour to present our readers with a general view of the nature of his government, and of the internal state of Rome under his dominion; which last subject will naturally lead us to trace the origin of the conspiracy formed against him, and to follow it up to the moment of its fatal termination.

Renewal of the civil war in Spain by Scapula and Cn. Pompeius.

The condition of Spain had become far from tranquil before the conclusion of the campaign in Africa. Cnæus Pompeius, who, as we have mentioned, was invested with a naval command, had been invited thither by some of the Spanish cities [62], which had taken part in the resistance offered against Q. Cassius, Cæsar's lieutenant, and which were apprehensive that their conduct, though not hitherto noticed, must necessarily have excited Cæsar's resentment. Accordingly Cn. Pompeius sailed from Africa to the barbarian islands [63], and succeeded in making himself master of them; but, being seized with an illness, he was detained there till after the defeat and death of Scipio, and the conclusion of the African campaign. When the tidings of Cæsar's victory arrived in Spain, the party which had invited Pompeius to be their leader, finding that he was still delayed by sickness, resolved to seek out another chief; and for this purpose they fixed on T. Annius Scapula [64], a man of great rank and influence in the province, and who had been deeply concerned in the opposition

[62] Dion Cassius, XLIII. 228.

[63] Dion Cassius. Auctor de Bello Africano, 23.

[64] Auctor de Bello Alexandrino, 55. De Bello Hispaniensi, 33. Cicero, ad Familiares, IX. epist. XIII.

against the authority of Q. Cassius. His own slaves and freedmen were a numerous body, and with them he first took up arms; but his adherents daily became more formidable, being swelled partly by the accession of Roman and native soldiers from Spain itself, and partly by the fugitives from Africa, who sought his standard as their last refuge. At length Pompeius himself appeared, and was acknowledged as commander-in-chief of the whole assembled force. The popularity of his name gained him the zealous support of the Spaniards; and soldiers resorted to him from every quarter of the empire, as if it were reserved for the son of Pompey to revenge the fate of his father and of the Commonwealth. Cæsar's lieutenants, to whom he had intrusted the government of Spain, were unable to withstand the progress of the enemy; and Cæsar himself was obliged to suspend his labours for the civil administration of the empire, and once more appear at the head of an army. He set out from Rome, as has been already observed, about the end of the year 707; and exerting his accustomed activity, he is said to have arrived at Obulco [65], near Corduba, in the province of Farther Spain, in twenty-seven days from the time of his leaving the capital. His presence, as usual, encouraged those cities which still remained faithful to him, and restrained those which were inclining to the enemy. The troops which he found in Spain, added to those which followed him from Italy,

Cæsar leaves Rome, and goes into Spain.

[65] Strabo, III. 169, edit. Xyland.

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formed an army superior to that of the enemy in the quality of its infantry, and in the numbers of its cavalry; and Cæsar, therefore, as in his former campaigns, was anxious to bring on a general action; and in order to accomplish this, whilst he was advancing his own cause at the same time in other respects, he employed himself in laying siege to some of the towns that were garrisoned by his opponents. In this manner he besieged and took Alegua, and one or two other places[66]; till Cn. Pompeius, unwilling to discourage his partisans by appearing unable to offer any resistance to his enemy's enterprises, and having persuaded himself that the soldiers in Cæsar's present army were no longer the same veterans who had conquered at Pharsalia or at Thapsus, was induced to offer battle in the neighbourhood of Munda. He disposed his army, however, upon ground so defensible by nature[67], and his soldiers conducted themselves so bravely, that the first attack of the enemy was vigorously repelled; and it is said that Cæsar dismounted from his horse, and by offering to expose his life as a common soldier in the front of the line, at last with difficulty rallied his men, and retrieved the fortune of the day[68]. The victory, though hardly won, was complete and decisive. Labienus and Atius Varus were killed in the field, and Cn. Pompeius was wounded, but effected his escape in a litter to Carteia. From

Battle of Munda.

[66] Auctor de Bell. Hispan. 6, et seq. et seq.

[67] Auctor de Bell. Hispan. 29,

[68] Valleius Paterculus, II. 55.

thence, mistrusting the fidelity of the inhabitants, he endeavoured to withdraw by sea to a safer refuge [69], but being pursued by a squadron of Cæsar's, and being surprised at the very moment when his ships had put in to shore to obtain fresh supplies of water, his vessels were all taken or burnt, and he was obliged once more to pursue his flight by land. He at first attempted to defend himself with the aid of the few followers who still remained with him, on one of the strong positions which the country afforded; but when his pursuers began to construct regular works, under cover of which they might gain a footing on the high ground occupied by his party, he was forced to fly, and his men began to disperse on every side. His wound disabled him from escaping on foot, and the country was impracticable for a carriage, or even for a horse; so that concealment was his only remaining chance of safety, and he took shelter in a cavern, in one of the wild and lonely glens among the mountains, such as have afforded a sure protection to the fugitives of a vanquished or oppressed party in various periods of Spanish history. But he was discovered by the information of some prisoners whom the enemy had taken, and was slaughtered in his place of refuge. His head was cut off and presented to Cæsar, who at that very moment was entering Hispalis in triumph; and this bloody trophy being instantly by his orders exhibited to the multitude, informed them that the

Death of Cn. Pompeius.

[69] Auctor De Bell. Hispan. 37, 38, 39. Velleius Paterculus, ubi supra.

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ruin of Pompey's cause was complete. Scapula had put an end to his own life a short time before at Corduba[70], and Sex. Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey the Great, having fled from the same place on the news of the battle of Munda, sought a refuge amongst the Iaccetani or Lacetani[71], one of the tribes of Hither Spain, who lived between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, in what is now a part of Navarre and Arragon. More fortunate than his brother, Sex. Pompeius was enabled, by the attachment of the natives, to baffle the vigilance of his pursuers, and soon to commence a predatory warfare, which became more serious after Cæsar's departure from Spain, and gradually assumed the shape of an organized hostility. But for the present he was reduced to the condition of a fugitive; and Cæsar pursued a course of executions and confiscations for some months[72], till he had destroyed every appearance of regular opposition, and had enriched himself and largely rewarded those towns or tribes which had taken part with him in the late contest. The arrangements necessary to be made of one kind or another, detained him in Spain till the autumn, so that, as we have already observed, he did not return to Rome till the month of October.

The whole of Spain is reduced to submission, and Cæsar returns to Rome.

Disturbances in Syria excited by Q. Cæcilius Bassus.

There was one other part of the empire in which Cæsar's authority was still disputed, nor was tranquillity ever fully established in it during his life-

[70] Auctor de Bell. Hispan. 33.
[71] Strabo, III. 170, edit. Xyland. Dion Cassius, XLV. 275. Appian, de Bello Civili, IV. 83. Cicero, ad Atticum, XII. epist. XXXVII.
[72] Dion Cassius, XLIII. 233.

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time. On his hasty progress from Egypt towards Pontus, when he was preparing to attack Pharnaces, he had conferred the command of the province of Syria upon Sex. Cæsar [73], a friend and connexion of his own. At this time there was a Roman knight residing at Tyre, of the name of Q. Cæcilius Bassus [74], who had served in Pompey's army during the late campaign, and after the battle of Pharsalia had taken refuge in Syria. As belonging to the equestrian order, he was likely to have been engaged in commerce, and he probably had some friends or connexions in the great trading town of Tyre, which led him to fix on that place as his asylum. He was an active and enterprising man, and when reports began to be circulated that Cæsar was in a state of great danger and difficulty in Africa [75], Bassus thought that he saw a favourable opportunity for reviving the cause of Pompey in the east. His command of money enabled him easily to raise soldiers in these times of general disorder, and also to corrupt those of Sex. Cæsar, as different detachments were successively placed in garrison at Tyre; we are told also, that when his military preparations became so notorious as to excite alarm, he satisfied Sex. Cæsar by assuring him that they were intended only to assist Mithridates of Pergamus in taking possession of his kingdom of the Bosphorus, which Cæsar had bestowed on him as a reward for the services he had

[73] Auctor de Bello Alexandrino, 66.

[74] Dion Cassius, XLVII. 342.

Livy, Epitome, CXIV.

[75] Cicero, pro Deiotaro, 9. Dion Cassius, ubi supra.

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rendered him in his Egyptian campaign[76]. Suspicion being thus lulled asleep for the present, Bassus soon afterwards pretended to have received letters from Scipio, announcing the defeat and death of Cæsar in Africa, and bestowing on himself the government of Syria. Accordingly, by virtue of this imaginary commission, he took possession of Tyre; and in a very short time won over to his side the whole army of Sex. Cæsar, whose soldiers, corrupted by the money of his antagonist, murdered him, and then deserted to Bassus. In this manner a private individual, with no other means than the money and influence which he had acquired by his commercial dealings, became master of an army, and of the province of Syria. He fixed his head-quarters at Apamea[77], a town of remarkable strength, situated on a hill rising out of a level country, and protected partly by the river Orontes, which flows almost round it, and partly by a large tract of marsh or stagnant water, which obstructs the approach of an enemy. It commanded, besides, the resources of a most abundant district, which had long been famous for its wealth and fertility; and there were several other strong fortresses in its neighbourhood, the petty chiefs of which were induced by the money, or by the credit of Bassus, to support him in his enterprise. We are told, too[78], that the chief of one of the wandering Arab tribes, inhabiting the

[76] Auctor de Bell. Alexand. 78.
[77] Strabo, XVI. 871. Dion Cassius, LXVII. 342.
[78] Dion Cassius and Strabo, locis citatis.

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desert between Syria and the Euphrates, was bribed by promises of high pay to himself and his followers, to offer his services to the same cause; nor did Bassus scruple to call in the more powerful succour of the sovereigns of Parthia, who were naturally glad to foment the internal quarrels of the Romans, and who once or twice relieved Apamea by their sudden appearance, when Bassus was hard pressed by the forces employed by Cæsar against him [79]. Thus there were two private individuals acting a conspicuous part in two different extremities of the empire, and each indebted for his political importance to the connexions with foreign princes which he had formed in the course of his commercial dealings. We have already noticed the services rendered to Cæsar in Africa by P. Sitius, at the very time that Q. Cæcilius Bassus in Syria was organizing an opposition against him. Other more important occupations prevented Cæsar from employing a very considerable force to put him down; and he continued, therefore, to retain possession of Apamea, and to command the troops which had deserted to him from Sex. Cæsar, till C. Cassius, after the death of Cæsar, became the head of the party of the Commonwealth in Asia, when the superior fame and rank of Cassius induced the soldiers of Bassus to commit a second act of desertion, to abandon him, and put themselves under the command of Cassius [80].

[79] Cicero, ad Atticum, XIV. epist. IX.

[80] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. XII.

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There are few more curious historical records than that which Evelyn, in his "Memoirs," has left of the state of England immediately after the great civil war. He gives a journal of an excursion which he made through the midland and northern counties just at that period; and draws a most lively picture of the state of the country and of the towns, and of the marks of havoc and confiscation which naturally attended the decision of so obstinate a contest. But when we would strain our eyes to discover what was the condition of the Roman empire when the sword was at last sheathed, and the victory of Cæsar was no longer disputed, we are obliged to turn away in disappointment, and can only indulge a vain regret, that the materials for obtaining a really valuable knowledge of ancient history are so exceedingly scanty. We have seen that Spain and Syria were even yet disturbed by the show of actual warfare; that Sex. Pompeius was the chief of a formidable band of plunderers in the one country, while Q. Cæcilius Bassus possessed in the other a strong and important city, and the command of a Roman legion. Before we return to Italy itself, we wish to glean a few facts illustrative of the condition of the other provinces of the empire, and to describe the characters of some of the persons, to whose care Cæsar had committed them.

Sketch of the state of the different Provinces.

The countries on the eastern side of the Adriatic and the Ionian gulf, which had been so lately the principal seat of the civil war, were now governed by P. Vatinius and Ser. Sulpicius. We have already

mentioned the services which Vatinius had rendered to Cæsar in Illyricum, when he succeeded A. Gabinius in the management of the war in that province, and obliged M. Octavius to abandon the contest and withdraw into Africa. He had been rewarded with a titular consulship during the last three months of the year 706[81], and was afterwards appointed to command the province of Illyricum, as proconsul. He was continually occupied in reducing the strongholds of the neighbouring Dalmatians[82], who had taken an active part against Cæsar throughout the late war; and it appears, too, that some Roman officers, who had probably taken refuge in Illyricum after the defeat of Pompey, were carrying on a plundering and desultory warfare, accompanied with all that wanton cruelty which usually marks the last vindictive struggles of a vanquished party in a civil war. Achaia, under which name was included the whole of Greece southward of Thermopylæ, was at this same period under the government of Ser. Sulpicius. Sulpicius, the most distinguished lawyer of his day, had been one of those who remained in Italy when Pompey first withdrew into Greece, nor had he at any subsequent time been induced to follow him. The neutrality thus observed by a man of his high birth and character, was too grateful to Cæsar to pass unrewarded; and when Q. Fufius Calenus returned home to share the honours of the consulship with P. Vatinius, Cæsar fixed upon Sul-

Illyricum.

Achaia.

[81] Dion Cassius, LXII. 211.

[82] Cicero, ad Familiares, V. epist. X.

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picius as the most fit person to succeed him in the government of Greece [83]. Such a task was probably not an easy one: there were several distinguished persons who had been involved in the defeat of Pompey [84], and who were now living in Greece in exile; many again of the Greeks themselves had been forward in opposing Cæsar [85], and were to pay the penalty of their conduct by the forfeiture of their properties; while the adherents of the victorious party could not, at once, lay aside the license to which the war had accustomed them, and still indulged themselves in frequent acts of lawless violence [86], which it might not be safe or practicable for Sulpicius to punish. Yet, on the whole, his professional attachment to the laws, and his moderate character, disposed him to alleviate, as far as possible, the sufferings of the people whom he governed; and the state of Greece was, perhaps, enviable, when compared with that of some of the other provinces of the empire.

Asia.

Of the condition of Asia, little appears to be known, except that the province, called by that name, was now under the government of P. Servilius Isauricus [87], who had been Cæsar's colleague in the consulship in the year 705, and whom Cicero com-

[83] Cicero, ad Familiares, IV. epist. III. IV.; VI. epist. VI.

[84] For instance, M. Marcellus, A. Torquatus, Cn. Plancius. Vid. Ciceron. ad Familiares, IV. epist. VII. XIV.; VI. epist. I.

[85] Cicero, ad Familiares, XIII. epist. XIX.

[86] Magna est gladiorum licentia; sed in externis locis minor etiam ad facinus verecundia. Cicero, ad Familiares, IV. epist. IX.

[87] Cicero, ad Familiares, XIII. epist. LXVIII.

pliments on his beneficent and equitable administration. Deiotarus[88], king of Galatia, who had formerly assisted Pompey in the civil war, but after the battle of Pharsalia had endeavoured to appease Cæsar's anger by his active services in the war with Pharnaces, was about this time accused, by his own grandson, of having intended to assassinate Cæsar, when passing through Asia Minor two years before, on his return from Egypt. Although he had been acknowledged as an independent sovereign by Cæsar himself, yet Deiotarus was obliged to apply to Cicero, with whom he had long been familiarly acquainted, to defend him against this charge, and the cause was tried by Cæsar in his own house. It appears that nothing was determined immediately; and as Cæsar was forming plans for an expedition into Parthia, he may have deferred his judgment on Deiotarus till he should be himself in Asia, and should be able to ascertain more fully what decision would be most conducive to his own interests.

Africa.

Cæsar's late conquests in Africa had been intrusted (as we have already mentioned) to the command of C. Sallustius Crispus the historian[89]. His oppressions and extortions are said to have been carried to such a pitch, that he was more like a plunderer than a proconsul; and the unfortunate inhabitants, finding the miseries of war succeeded by the tyranny of such a government, must have been

[88] Cicero, pro Deiotaro.

[89] Auctor de Bello Africano, 97. Dion Cassius, XLIII. 217.

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amongst the most wretched of all the subjects of the Roman empire.

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Cæsar's triumphs.

The return of Cæsar from Africa, in the end of July, 707, was almost immediately followed by his triumphs, which he now celebrated in commemoration of his various successes in Gaul [90], in Egypt, in Pontus, and in Africa. Each of these pageants occupied a separate day, and there was an interval of some days between them, that the interest of the people might be kept alive, and that each might pass off without weariness. In the first triumph, Vercingetorix [91], who had been made prisoner at the famous siege of Alesia six years before, was led amongst the captives in the procession, and was immediately afterwards put to death. It is mentioned that an accident happened to Cæsar's triumphal chariot on this occasion, by which he was nearly thrown out of it; and so natural is superstition, even to men of the greatest natural abilities, if unenlightened by the knowledge of God, that he was accustomed [92], ever afterwards, as soon as he had seated himself in any carriage, to repeat a certain form of words three times ever, by way of a charm for the security of his journey. The injury which the chariot had sustained, rendered it necessary that another should be substituted for it; and the procession was so long delayed, that it was dark before

[90] Livy, Epitome, CXV. Suetonius, in Cæsare, 37.

[91] Dion Cassius, XLIII. 223.

[92] Pliny, Hist. Natural. XXVIII. 2.

the final ceremony of ascending into the capitol could take place. But the spectacle lost nothing by this circumstance; for we are told that forty elephants were ranged in order on both sides of the way [93], supporting, in their trunks, a number of candelabra filled with lights. It seems, however, that the accident of the morning had produced a strong impression on Cæsar's mind; and that, with the feeling so common in ancient times of wishing by a voluntary humiliation to disarm the envy with which the gods were supposed to regard excessive prosperity, he climbed, or rather crawled, up the steps leading to the capitol upon his knees [94]. In his Egyptian triumph, Arsinoe, the younger sister of Cleopatra, appeared amongst the prisoners, and excited a general feeling of compassion, which, together with Cæsar's fondness for her sister, saved her from sharing the fate of Vercingetorix. The triumph over Pharnaces was rendered remarkable by the display of a banner, with the famous words "Veni, Vidi, Vici [95];" and we may imagine that Cæsar delighted in representing his victory over the king of Pontus as so easily won, in order to depreciate Pompey's glory as the conqueror of Mithridates. In his African triumph, Juba, the son of the late king of Mauritania [96], was the most distinguished prisoner; but his life was spared, and he afterwards became an historian of considerable eminence, and

[93] Suetonius, 37.
[94] Dion Cassius, XLIII. 224.
[95] Suetonius, in Cæsare, 37.
[96] Plutarch, in Cæsare, 55. Strabo, XVII. 959.

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recovered his hereditary throne, with an accession of territory, from the favour of Augustus. The civil wars, according to the constant practice of the Romans, could not be the subject of a regular triumph; but, if we may believe Appian [97], pictures were exhibited in the procession representing the deaths of Scipio, Petreius, and Cato, although their names were not mentioned in the list of conquered enemies, which, as usual, was displayed to the people as a part of the ceremony. Indignation was naturally excited by this indirect glorying at the deaths of some of the most distinguished citizens of the Commonwealth; but the splendour of the pageant drove all other considerations, we are told, from the eyes of the multitude [98]; and when they were informed that Cæsar had brought into the treasury, as the fruit of his conquests, a sum exceeding 4,843,750*l.* of our money [99], few would be disposed to estimate justly the immense price of wickedness and misery at which this plunder had been purchased.

Largesses to the populace and to the soldiers.

His triumphs were followed by various largesses of provisions and money to the populace, and by a succession of splendid spectacles, which were perhaps equally effectual in winning the affections of the multitude. Magnificent public entertainments were given, and the people were feasted, we are told, at two and twenty thousand tables [100]; besides which every one of the poorer citizens received a certain

[97] De Bello Civili, II. 101.
[98] Dion Cassius, XLIII. 223.
[99] Velleius Paterculus, II.
[100] Plutarch, in Cæsare, 55.

portion of meat [101], about two bushels and a half of corn, ten pounds of oil, and 3*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* in money. A year's rent [102], or possibly a year's house-tax, was also remitted to every person in Rome who paid for his dwelling less than 16*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*, and to every one in Italy who paid less than 4*l.* 0*s.* $8\frac{3}{4}d.$; or possibly the remission to the Italians was now given in addition to that which Cæsar had already given to the Romans, according to Dion Cassius, before he set out for Africa, in the preceding winter [103]. But it is said that he somewhat lessened the effect of these liberalities by a previous scrutiny and reduction of the number of citizens who were to profit by them; for finding that the list of paupers at Rome [104], or of persons receiving relief from the distributions of

[101] "Visceratio," Conf. Suetonium, in Cæsare, 38.

[102] Suetonius, in Cæsare, 38. Dion Cassius, XLII. 209.

[103] It is not quite clear what was the nature of the payment which Cæsar remitted on this occasion. To have deprived all landlords of a year's rent seems a measure more violently iniquitous than Cæsar was likely to have sanctioned; especially as he, or his partisan, represents this very same thing as one of the mischievous proposals of M. Cælius in his prætorship, brought forward by him at the same time with a law for the general abolition of all debts, which exposed him to the censures of those persons to whom Cæsar had intrusted the administration of the capital. Possibly it was a remission of all rents due to the government, which may have been the proprietor of a large portion of the land occupied by buildings in Rome, as well as in many other towns in Italy. Dion Cassius says, that in consequence of the repeated conflicts which took place between the soldiers of Octavius Cæsar and the citizens, both in Rome and in the other towns of Italy, after the battle of Philippi, in the course of which a great many houses were burnt, there was granted also a remission of rent both in the capital and in the country towns; but he does not say whether this was an act of the government, or an arrangement generally made between the landlords and their tenants, in consideration of the temporary distress of the latter. Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 362.

[104] Suetonius, 41. Dion Cassius, XLIII. 224.

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corn issued at the public expense, amounted to three hundred and twenty thousand, he caused this account to be rigorously examined, and diminished it by about one half; providing moreover by a law, that no new claimants on the public bounty should be admitted, unless when vacancies in the number now established should be occasioned by death. To his soldiers he gave at the rate of 161*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* to each of the common men; 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* to the centurions; and 645*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* to the military tribunes[105]. The cavalry are said to have received at the rate of 193*l.* 15*s.* a man. In addition to these presents in money, settlements in land were given to the army; yet we are told that the soldiers were dissatisfied with the rewards conferred on them[106]; and something of real bitterness mingled perhaps with the wild license of the moment, when, as they followed their leader in his triumphal procession, they sang doggerel verses, attacking the infamous profligacy of his youth, reproached him with their miserable fare of roots at Dyrrhachium, and parodying the sentiment of the Stoics, told him that if he acted honestly he would be condemned for his treasons, but if he played the villain he might win the throne. Already, too, they assumed so much of the self-

[105] Appian, de Bello Civili, II. 102. The sum here stated appears enormous; yet a natural correction of the text of Suetonius, which in its present state is clearly corrupt, makes his testimony exactly confirm that of Appian; and all parts of the empire had been plundered to furnish Cæsar with the means of enriching his soldiery.

[106] Pliny, XIX. 8. Dion Cassius, XLIII. 224. 226. Suetonius, in Cæsare, 49. 51.

importance of the guards of a military despot, that they murmured loudly against the extravagance of Cæsar's spectacles; and, if we may believe Dion Cassius, they actually showed symptoms of mutiny, which were only suppressed by the vigour of their chief, in seizing one of them with his own hand, and ordering him to be executed immediately. Yet wiser and better citizens might have joined them in condemning the profusion of the entertainments now given to the multitude, and might have recognized the invariable policy of tyrants, in the conduct of Cæsar, thus pampering the populace with shows and feastings, while he was plundering and oppressing the rich, the respectable, and the industrious. He had built a forum, or great square, which was called after his own name, an amphitheatre, and a temple in honour of Venus, giving her the epithet of "*Genitrix*," or "the Ancestress," in allusion to the fabled descent of the Julian family from Iulus, the son of Æneas. These various buildings were now to be opened, or consecrated; and this, together with the pretence of paying honours to the memory of his daughter Julia[107], who had died about eight years before, furnished him with an occasion of gratifying the favourite tastes of the multitude to the utmost. Dramatic entertainments were exhibited in all the different quarters of the city[108], and were performed in several different languages, for the amusement of the numerous strangers assembled in the capital

Shows of various kinds exhibited to the people.

Dramatic entertainments.

[107] Plutarch, in Cæsare, 55. Dion Cassius, XLIII. 225.

[108] Suetonius, in Cæsare, 39.

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from all parts of the empire. It was in one of these performances that Dec. Laberius, a Roman knight, and well known as a writer of farces, was forced at Cæsar's request to appear as an actor on the stage in one of his own plays; and having thus forfeited his rank by becoming one of a profession which the Romans considered infamous, he recovered it again from Cæsar as a reward for his condescension, and received besides a large present in money. But the dramatic spectacles were little regarded in comparison with the sports of the circus, and the amphitheatre, the combats of gladiators, and the exhibition of the naumachia. The hunting of different animals was continued during five days; and it is said that the camelopard, or giraffe, was on this occasion for the first time exhibited at Rome[109]. On the last day a regular engagement took place, in which twenty elephants, thirty horsemen, and five hundred foot-soldiers fought on each side; and at another time twenty elephants[110], mounted with their turrets, and assisted by sixty light-armed soldiers, were opposed to five hundred infantry and twenty horsemen. The combats of gladiators were also on the grandest scale; and if we may believe Suetonius, Furius Leptinus, a man whose father had been prætor; and Q. Calpenus, a senator, fought in these contests amongst the hundreds of prisoners taken in war, or criminals condemned to die, who in general were the combatants. In like manner, the

Sports of the amphitheatre.

Combats of gladiators.

[109] Dion Cassius, ubi supra.

[110] Pliny, VIII. 7.

martial exercise, called the Pyrrhic dance, was performed by the sons of men of the highest rank in the provinces of Asia and Bithynia; and many of the young Roman nobility appeared as drivers of chariots in the races of the circus. But the naumachia, or sea-fight, excited greater admiration than even the combats of the gladiators or of the elephants. An immense pond or lake was dug near the Tiber, and having been filled with water, ships of war, of different sizes, of which some are said to have been quadriremes, or vessels with four rows of oars, were introduced upon it. Two fleets were formed, one consisting of Egyptians, and the other of Tyrians; and it is said that there were on board of each two thousand rowers[111], and one thousand fighting men, who engaged with one another, and displayed all the horrors of real warfare. Even the habitual inhumanity of the Romans was shocked, we are told, in some measure, by this enormous and wanton effusion of blood[112]; yet they were much more shocked, it is added, at the thought of the vast sums of money which were thus prodigally expended. Amongst other instances of magnificence it is mentioned, that the whole forum in which the gladiators fought, together with the whole length of the Via Sacra, was covered over with awnings to protect the spectators from the sun[113]; and some accounts which Dion Cassius had seen, added the incredible circumstance

Naumachia, or sea-fight.

[111] Appian, de Bello Civili, II. 102.

[112] Dion Cassius, XLIII. 225.

[113] Pliny, XIX. 1. 226.

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that these awnings were made of silk. However justly there might have existed a partial and temporary feeling of indignation or disgust at so much prodigality and cruelty, the entertainments were altogether so attractive, that the multitudes which flocked to Rome to witness them were obliged to live in booths or tents, with which they lined the roads near the capital, as well as the principal streets [114]; and many lives were continually lost from the pressure of the crowd, two senators, it is said, perishing amongst the rest in this manner. One circumstance yet remains to be told, in order to complete the picture of these festivities. For some cause, which Dion Cassius could not learn, human sacrifices were judged to be necessary, and accordingly two men were offered up in the Campus Martius, by the pontifices and the priest of Mars [115]. Such were the scenes exhibited in the capital of the civilized world, under the express direction of the sovereign of the empire, himself a man of the highest and most cultivated intellect in his dominions.

Human sacrifices offered in the Campus Martius.

Powers and honours bestowed on Cæsar.

We have called Cæsar the sovereign of the empire, for, independently of that actual power which his sword had conferred on him, the senate, since the tidings of his successes in Africa, had showered upon him all the dignities and offices of the Commonwealth. He had been appointed dictator for ten years [116], and *Præfectus Morum*, or superin-

114 Suetonius, 39. Cicero, ad Familiares, IX. epist. XV.
115 Dion Cassius, XLIII. 226.
116 Dion Cassius, XLIII. 220.

tendant of public manners and morals, with the whole vast authority formerly enjoyed by the censors for three years. He was to nominate the other magistrates, who were before elected by the people, although it appears that he did not avail himself of this power to its full extent, but, with the exception of the consuls, allowed all other public officers to be appointed half by the tribes, as usual, and half by himself[117]. He was allowed to have his curule chair in the senate placed on a level with those of the consuls, and he was entitled to deliver his opinion before every other person in the debates. To all these were added some of those profane and disgraceful flatteries[118] which were afterwards so commonly bestowed on the Roman emperors. His statue, raised upon a figure representing the earth, was placed in the capitol opposite to the statue of Jupiter, and on it was the inscription, "He is a demigod." Other divine honours were voted to him, either now, or after his return from the campaign against the sons of Pompey in Spain. His statues were carried, together with those of the gods, in the processions of the circus, temples and altars were dedicated to him, and priests were appointed to superintend his worship. These things he received with a vanity which affords a striking contrast to the contemptuous pride of Sylla. Cæsar took a pleasure in receiving every token of homage, and in contemplating with childish delight the gaudy honours

[117] Suetonius, 41.
[118] Dion Cassius, 41. Suetonius, 76.

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with which he was invested. It was a part of the prize which he had coveted, and which he had committed so many crimes to gain; nor did the possession of real power seem to give him greater delight than the enjoyment of these forced, and therefore worthless, flatteries.

When Sylla had raised himself to the supreme power, there was a definite object before him which he never lost sight of—the depression of the popular party, and the strengthening the aristocracy; and when he had accomplished these ends he laid aside his individual sovereignty, and took his station as the chief of that part of the Commonwealth on which he had conferred an absolute ascendancy. But Cæsar's policy was entirely selfish: he could not pretend to act for the benefit of the aristocracy, or of the lower orders. There were no grievances in the old constitution which could be redressed only by his despotism; there had been no offence committed by the senate and people of Rome which deserved that their liberties should be surrendered into the hands of one profligate individual. Those therefore who draw comparisons between Sylla's proscriptions and Cæsar's clemency, forget the utterly different circumstances in which the two dictators were placed. Wicked as Sylla's cruelties were, they were a retaliation for former atrocities, or a security for the establishment of the interests of the high aristocratical party at Rome. The Samnites were butchered to maintain the ascendancy of the Romans over the Italian allies; the proscription lists were opened to

exterminate, if possible, the adherents of the popular faction, who had abetted the violences of Sulpicius and Cinna, and had so lately trampled the nobility under their feet. But after the deaths of Pompey, of Scipio, of L. Domitius, of M. Bibulus, of L. Lentulus, of M. Cato, and of all the most eminent citizens of the Commonwealth, whom could Cæsar wish to proscribe? His own wrongs, even if we were to admit his own statement, had been abundantly revenged already; the security of his government could not be ensured by massacres, when every one seemed ready to submit to his power; and if he had wished to get rid of all those whose interests were incompatible with his own, he must have destroyed every free citizen in the empire. Cæsar's policy was to draw a veil over the past, as far as possible; to conciliate, by an apparent clemency, those whom he held in subjection; and to invest himself, as early as he could, with all the splendour and popularity which attend a prince of commanding abilities ruling over a great empire. Had he but retained a small military force about his person, to save him from the danger of assassination, there was no probability that his power would ever have been disturbed by any national resistance; he might have died, like Augustus, in a peaceful old age, quietly enjoying the imperial crown, and might have transmitted his dominions to his successor, without the intervention of that period of misery which elapsed, between his murder and the final exaltation of his nephew Octavius, after the battle of Actium.

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Distribution of lands to Cæsar's soldiers.

One of the most necessary measures for the security of Cæsar's government, was the granting settlements of lands to his victorious soldiers. He did not wish to plant them all together in any one part of Italy [119]; partly that by being dispersed into different quarters they might be less likely to remember their own power, and attempt to overthrow the throne which they had raised; and partly in order to avoid the odium of expelling a large body of the lawful occupants of the soil in order to make room for them. It was professed that for this purpose Cæsar could find land enough amongst the forfeited estates of the adherents of Pompey, or in those parts of Italy and Cisalpine Gaul which were the property of the Commonwealth. But it appears that the commissioners whom he appointed to manage this business, might extend, with little control, the limits of what they chose to call national or confiscated lands; and thus we find them dividing out the districts of Veii and Capena [120]; threatening the neighbourhood of Tusculum, so that Cicero entertained some fears for the safety of his own villa; seizing on the estates in Cisalpine Gaul [121], which belonged to the corporation of the town of Atella, in Campania; claiming the whole territory of Volaterræ [122], because Sylla had decreed its confiscation, although it had since been protected by an especial

[119] Suetonius, 38. Dion Cassius, XLII. 210. Appian, II. 94.

[120] Cicero, ad Familiares, IX. epist. XVII.

[121] Cicero, ad Familiares, XIII. epist. VII.

[122] Cicero, ad Familiares, XIII. epist. IV.

law, passed by Cæsar himself in his first consulship; and by a still more striking instance of arbitrary power, marking out for distribution a property which had already been sold by public auction under Cæsar's authority [123], as belonging to an adherent of Pompey; and had been purchased by C. Albinus, a senator, in the natural confidence that Cæsar would cause the validity of such sales to be religiously observed, inasmuch as his own credit and interest were concerned in maintaining his own acts. But in this manner, at whatever expense of individual oppression and misery, the veterans were provided for; and the favour of the army was conciliated towards a chief, whose sole dependence was on their support, and who had shown himself ready to repay their services with the rewards which they most coveted.

Purchases of forfeited property by Cæsar's adherents.

It is not possible to estimate the amount of property forfeited in different parts of the empire, on account of the support given by its owners to the party of Pompey. At Rome the sales of houses and lands were constantly going on, and as it was naturally considered odious to become a purchaser [124], monied men of low character, and some of Cæsar's partisans, who cared not for public opinion, were able to buy splendid possessions at a very low price. It is said that M. Antonius [125], having thus bought the house which had belonged to Pompey, was very

[123] Cicero, ad Familiares, XIII. epist. III.
[124] Cicero, ad Atticum, XII. epist. VIII.
[125] Cicero, Philippic. II. 29.

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unwilling to pay the price of it; presuming that his services to Cæsar entitled him to share in his spoils gratuitously. But Cæsar, on his return from Africa, insisted absolutely on the payment being made; and when Antonius still demurred, he ordered a military guard to take possession of his property. It was now time to give up the plea of right, and to appeal to Cæsar's forbearance, that he would not press for immediate payment; and Cæsar, whose main objection was to the principle on which Antonius had before refused to pay, having no wish to distress so useful an adherent, readily allowed him a longer time to discharge his debt. It does not appear that it was ever paid; for the profligacy of Antonius kept him always poor, and Cæsar did not wish to exasperate him, and to run the risk of offending a large party among his principal officers, by seeming to grudge them any portion of the fruits of his usurpation. We are told that, whilst Cæsar was in Spain[126], Antonius proceeded as far as Narbo, in Gaul, to join him, but went no further; and after staying there some time returned to Rome, in order to prevent the sale of his property, with which he was at that period threatened for his insolvency. During his stay at Narbo[127], he is said to have communicated with C. Trebonius some design against Cæsar's life; and it was owing to this circumstance that Trebonius afterwards led him aside out of the senate-house, when Cæsar was assassinated, supposing that he,

[126] Cicero, Philippic. 30, 31. Ad Atticum, XII. epist. XVIII.

[127] Cicero, Philippic. 14.

who had once himself proposed the very same deed, would feel no regret when it was carried into execution. But it is not unlikely that some among the conspirators were actuated by the same motives which had led Antonius to contemplate the murder of Cæsar; and that it was the creditor rather than the tyrant whom they wished to destroy. Be this as it may, the friends of Cæsar seized largely upon the spoils of the defenders of the Commonwealth; and although in many instances the property thus gained was speedily dissipated, yet the scandal and the suffering occasioned by these proceedings was great and deplorable.

Sketch of the lives of Cæsar's principal adherents.

We shall take this opportunity of noticing some of those persons who had been Cæsar's principal supporters in the civil war, and who were now raised by his victory to the highest situations in the Commonwealth. Of all these, M. Antonius was the most distinguished. He has been, necessarily, often mentioned already in the course of this history; and we have seen that his flight from Rome, during his tribuneship, furnished Cæsar with a pretence for commencing his rebellion in the year 704; that he was afterwards intrusted with the government of Italy during Cæsar's absence in Spain in the same year; that he held a high command in Cæsar's army in the subsequent campaign in Greece; and that, after the battle of Pharsalia, he carried the greatest part of the victorious legions back to Italy, and enjoyed the government of that country for the second time till the return of Cæsar from Egypt in

M. Antonius.

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the autumn of 706. He was then named master of the horse to Cæsar in his second dictatorship; but he did not follow him into Africa, and employed himself, during his stay at Rome, in wasting, amidst the grossest excesses, the property which he had purchased at Cæsar's auctions. Next to Antonius we may rank P. Cornelius Dolabella, Cicero's son-in-law, whose early profligacies and extravagances had led him to join Cæsar at the beginning of his rebellion as the natural patron of men of broken fortunes; who had since fought under him at Pharsalia[128], had distinguished himself by his revolutionary proceedings when tribune, during Cæsar's absence in Egypt, and had afterwards gone with him into Africa, and had served under him through the whole of that campaign. On his return to Italy, after Cæsar's final victory, he appears to have lived in a style of great magnificence, and the excellence of his entertainments is recorded by Cicero[129], who at this time often visited him, and through him, and one or two other friends, maintained a friendly intercourse with the prevailing party. M. Æmilius Lepidus is entitled to our notice, more from the elevated situation to which circumstances afterwards raised him, than from any merit or abilities of his own. Having been prætor at the beginning of the rebellion, he had remained at Rome when the consuls and the great majority of the senate left it to follow

P. Dolabella.

M. Æmilius Lepidus.

[128] Cicero, Philippic. II. 30.
[129] Ad Familiares, IX. epist. XVI.

Pompey[130]; and when Cæsar returned from Spain, towards the end of the year 704, Lepidus presided at the comitia, which conferred on him the office of dictator. For thus giving the sanction of a lawful magistrate to Cæsar's proceedings, he was rewarded with the government of the province of Hither Spain[131], which he retained for two years; and having made himself useful in quieting the disturbances occasioned by the unpopularity of Q. Cassius, he received the honours of a triumph on his return to Rome, and was named Cæsar's colleague in the consulship for the year 707. This dignity he was now enjoying; and when Cæsar again set out for Spain, at the close of the year, being then invested with the dictatorship, Lepidus was appointed his master of the horse, and was intrusted with the care of the capital during his absence. The principal partisans of Cæsar are enumerated by Cicero in one of his letters[132], where we find the names of Pansa, Hirtius, Balbus, Oppius, Matius, and Postumius.

C. Vibius Pansa.

C. Vibius Pansa had been tribune in the year 702, and being already devoted to the interests of Cæsar, he interposed his negative upon some of the earliest resolutions passed by the senate[133], with a view to the appointment of a new proconsul in the province of Gaul. We know not how actively he was engaged in the civil war; but it appears that he pre-

[130] Cicero, ad Atticum, IX. epist. IX. Dion Cassius, XLI. 170.

[131] Dion Cassius, XLIII. 214. Auctor de Bello Alexand. 59.

[132] Ad Familiares, VI. epist. XII.

[133] Cicero, ad Familiares, VIII. epist. VIII.

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served, through the whole of it, an unblemished character [134], and so distinguished himself by various acts of kindness and protection towards distressed individuals of the vanquished party, that when he was appointed to succeed M. Brutus in the government of Cisalpine Gaul, in the year 708, he received from the people, on leaving Rome, the liveliest tokens of their good-will and gratitude.

A. Hirtius.

A. Hirtius was also a friend of Cæsar before the civil war broke out, and was with him in Gaul in the year 703 [135], from whence he was despatched to Rome, to make arrangements with some of Cæsar's partisans in the capital, and returned to Cæsar immediately after, so that he was probably with him when he first began his rebellion. We hear of him again as residing in Italy in the year 707 [136], when he, like Dolabella, was famous for the sumptuousness of his table, and flattered Cicero's vanity by coming frequently to receive instructions from him in the art of oratory. He is known as the author of the eighth book of the "Commentaries of Cæsar's Wars in Gaul [137];" and was by some said to have written also those narratives of the campaigns in Egypt, Africa, and Spain, to which we have so often referred in our account of those events. He also took upon himself to write an invective against Cato in answer to

[134] Cicero, ad Familiares, XV. epist. XVII. XIX. Ad Atticum, XII. epist. XXVII.

[135] Cicero, ad Atticum, VII. epist. IV.

[136] Cicero, ad Atticum, XII. epist. II. Ad Familiares, VII. epist. XXXIII.; IX. epist. XVI. XVIII. XX.

[137] Suetonius, in Cæsare, 56.

Cicero's panegyric on him [138]; and he is said to have displayed some talent in the work, but to have incurred much greater ridicule, for the evident spirit of flattery to Cæsar by which it was dictated. Both Hirtius and Pansa appeared inclined, after Cæsar's death, to acknowledge the authority of the old constitution; they were both consuls together in the year 710, and both perished in the actions fought at Mutina, when commanding the armies of the Commonwealth against the rebellious attempts of M. Antonius. The names of Balbus and Oppius are generally coupled together in Cicero's letters, as if either personal or political friendship had established the closest union between them.

L. Cornelius Balbus.

L. Cornelius Balbus was a native of Spain, and by birth a citizen of Gades. He distinguished himself in the service of the Roman government in the war so long carried on against Sertorius, and was rewarded by Pompey with the rights of a Roman citizen [139]. From this period he removed to Rome, where he lived in a style of affluence, and, as it appears, was exposed to some odium on account of his wealth and luxury [140]. He soon became acquainted with Cæsar, to whom, perhaps, his money enabled him to be useful; and his intimacy with him was already firmly established, when Cæsar, after his prætorship, obtained the province of the Farther Spain; for we find that Cæsar conferred many kindnesses for his sake on his native

[138] Cicero, ad Atticum, XII. epist. XL. XLI. XLIV. XLV.

[139] Cicero, pro Balbo, 2, 3.

[140] Cicero, pro Balbo, 25.

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city Gades[141]. When Cæsar was afterwards consul, Balbus was one of those whom he most warmly patronized; and when, in the year 697, his title to the character of a Roman citizen was disputed in a court of justice, by the instigation, probably, of those who hated him as Cæsar's friend, Crassus, Pompey, and Cicero pleaded for him in his defence. Whilst Cæsar was in Gaul, Balbus occasionally visited him[142], and found opportunities, we may suppose, of adding to his fortune from the plunder of that country and Britain; for Cicero, in one his letters[143], alludes to the gardens and a Tusculan villa of the favourite, as the fruits of Cæsar's friendship. When the civil war broke out, he remained at Rome, and was not required by Cæsar to take any active part in the quarrel[144], as he was under great obligations to Pompey, and to L. Cornelius Lentulus, then consul, from whom he had taken his name when he became a Roman citizen. But he was always highly valued by Cæsar, and possessed great influence with him; insomuch, that Cicero relied chiefly on his interest to procure for him the favour of the conqueror after the battle of Pharsalia[145]. He was an Epicurean in principle and in practice, building splendid villas after Cæsar's victory in Africa[146], and enjoying the gifts of fortune to the uttermost. According to the philosophy which he professed, he seems to have

141 Cicero, pro Balbo, 19.
142 Cicero, Epist. ad Q. Fratrem, III. epist. I.
143 Ad Atticum, VII. epist. VII.
144 Ad Atticum, IX. epist. VII.
145 Ad Atticum, XI. epist. VII. VIII. &c.
146 Ad Atticum, XII. epist. II.

been a selfish but easy tempered man, willing to keep up a friendly intercourse with persons of all parties, and studying to preserve his fortune unhurt through all the political changes which he witnessed. In this object he was fully successful; for after the battle of Philippi he obtained the title of consul from M. Antonius and Octavius in the year 713[147], being the first individual who rose to that honour without being an Italian or a Roman citizen by birth; and at his death he was rich enough to bequeath the sum of 16*s.* 1*d.* to every individual of the Roman people.

C. Oppius.

His associate, Oppius, was a man of mean, or at least of humble birth[148], and apparently became acquainted with Cæsar by furnishing him with money at a time his profligacies were continually draining his means and ruining his credit. When Cæsar was in Gaul, Oppius seems to have been employed by him as his agent at Rome[149], and was in the habit of forwarding the letters which passed between him and his principal officers and their friends in the capital. Like Balbus, he enjoyed the confidence of Cæsar without interruption, and his name is constantly mentioned as that of a person whose influence in the internal administration of affairs was very considerable. But we have been unable to find any particulars

[147] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 376. Pliny, VII. 43. Velleius Paterculus, II. 51.

[148] Cicero, ad Atticum, IX. epist. VII. Tacitus, Annal. XII. 60.

[149] Cicero, ad Q. Fratrem, III. epist. I.

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recorded of him which throw light upon his individual character.

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C. Matius.

C. Matius was a citizen of the equestrian order [150], and became, at an early period of his life, acquainted with Cæsar. He was with him for some time in Gaul [151], and exerted himself at that period to reconcile him to Cicero, for whom he entertained an old regard. At the beginning of the civil war he did his utmost to preserve peace; but when his efforts proved fruitless, a most false estimate of the claims of private friendship led him to follow Cæsar, though at the same time he disapproved of his cause. He does not appear, however, to have taken much part in the war, nor did he acquire either riches or honours by its event; but availed himself of his influence with the conqueror to mitigate the sufferings of the vanquished party, and to recommend a system of clemency. After the death of Cæsar, when his assassins were at the height of their power, Matius never disguised his sorrow for the loss of his friend, and was one of the first persons to notice and support C. Octavius, when he came forward to claim the name and inheritance of his uncle. Octavius did not forget his kindness, but lived on terms of friendship with him [152] when the course of events had raised him to the imperial throne: and Matius lived to old age, possessed of fortune and influence, without reproach, amusing himself with his gardens and trees, and, like our own

150 Tacitus, Annal. XII. 60.
151 Cicero, ad Familiares, XI. epist. XXVII. XXVIII.
152 Pliny, XII. 2; XV. 14.

Evelyn, leaving a name behind him for his attention to the practice of horticulture and the ornamenting of pleasure grounds.

Of Postumius we have been able to collect no other notices than that he was employed by Cæsar in the civil war[153], and after his death undertook, together with C. Matius, the directions of the games which were celebrated by Octavius in honour of his uncle's victories.



One reflection naturally presents itself when we read over this list of names, hitherto unknown in Roman history, and now raised to the highest eminence of wealth and political importance. With all the misery which they had occasioned, the civil wars had yet produced the beneficial effect of depriving the oligarchy of great Roman families of that predominant share of power and honours which they had been accustomed to enjoy. In times of commotion, men of wealth, or of personal qualifications, naturally made their way to distinction and greatness; and more monied men and foreigners were thus introduced into the highest class of society, and gave a severe wound to that narrow aristocratical spirit which would perpetuate nobility in one particular caste, and considers it as a profanation to admit individuals taken from the mass of the people into the ranks of this privileged order. It was a general benefit to the provinces of the Roman empire when Balbus obtained the consulship; it was a general

[153] Appian, de Bello Civili, II. 58. Cicero, ad Atticum, XV. epist. II.

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elevation of the commercial and monied classes of the Roman people, when Oppius and Matius were raised to a degree of power and importance above the families of the oldest nobility in the Commonwealth; while, at the same time, it was a fortunate circumstance towards maintaining a just, but not excessive respect for noble ancestry, that the person who had seized the very highest place in the republic, was one whose birth made him on a level with the proudest of the patricians, and thus rendered his sway less galling than if his abilities and crimes alone had exalted him above them.

It may be remarked, also, that almost all the friends of Cæsar whom we have enumerated, were men of Epicurean principles; and the same may be said of T. Pomponius Atticus and C. Mecænas, two of the most distinguished individuals of the equestrian order, who flourished about this same period. The doctrines of Epicurus naturally suited a class of men who enjoyed wealth without political dignity; and such was the general character of the equestrian order, to which the persons of whom we have been speaking originally belonged. Where these principles were united with an amiable temper and kindly feelings, the mischief to which they led was either indolence and a sort of elegant selfishness, or, in the most favourable circumstances, it was a preference of feeling to principle, and a habit of substituting kind and generous actions for the harder task of balancing the claims of conflicting duties, and following that which was right, rather than that which was agreeable. It

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is probable that Matius and Pansa thought that their conduct in supporting Cæsar was amply atoned for by their acts of personal kindness and disinterestedness after his victory; so prone are men to purchase the privilege of declining a painful duty by the practice of those amiable virtues which confer at once the greatest self-complacency on themselves, and most attract the admiration of others. This tendency was especially encouraged by the doctrines of Epicurus, which, making pleasure the end of human conduct, represented virtue as the surest means of attaining it. Men of coarser and viler natures abused this philosophy, as was natural, far more grossly; but its evil tendency was most shown in the lives of its best disciples: for they who believed virtue to be indeed the truest road to pleasure, were yet misled by perceiving that the virtues most agreeable to their natures, led them to pleasure most readily; and, content with the practice of these, they failed altogether in assigning to each virtue its proper comparative rank, and in disciplining their natures to choose their highest duty, when the gratification of their intellect or their feelings was to be the necessary sacrifice.

Laws and regulations of Cæsar.

Meantime Cæsar proceeded to turn his attention to the general settlement of the Commonwealth, and, like Sylla, to attempt to terminate the disorders from which he had now nothing further to gain. With this view he proposed and carried a law, restricting to two years the term during which any

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command in the provinces might be held [154]; and ordering that all those provinces which were governed by prætors or proprætors should be held only for one year. But as he had himself marched with his army out of his province by his own sole authority, in open defiance of the Cornelian law of Sylla, which rendered such conduct treasonable, so a popular adventurer, or an able and ambitious general, would not fail to procure or to retain the command of a province for as long a time as might suit his purposes, notwithstanding the prohibitions of this law of Cæsar. Another law, in which also the example of Sylla was followed, proposed to increase the severity of the criminal code [155]. Wilful murderers were to incur the forfeiture of all their property, in addition to the penalty of exile, which had hitherto been the utmost extent of punishment legally inflicted on the most enormous crimes; other criminals, when banished, were to forfeit the half of their fortunes; and persons condemned for disturbing the public peace [156], or for any other of those offences against the public welfare included under the term "*Majestas imminuta*," or "*læsa*," were to be expelled from Italy by the form of forbidding them the use of fire and water within so many miles of the capital. But this strictness ill accorded with the indemnities which he had himself granted to so many persons condemned for bribery and other offences [157]; or

[154] Cicero, Philippic. I. 8.
[155] Suetonius, in Cæsare, 42.
[156] Cicero, Philippic. I. 10.
[157] Suetonius, 41.

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with his reversing the sentences of degradation formerly passed by the censors upon several who had since served him in the civil war. A third law, which was most completely at variance with the popular principles on which he had professed heretofore to act, contained an alteration of the Aurelian law respecting the persons to whom the judicial power was to be intrusted. By that law, passed as we have seen in the first consulship of Pompey and Crassus (U.C. 683), the judges were to be chosen from the senate, the equestrian order, and from a description of men among the plebeians who possessed a competent fortune, and were known by the name of *Tribuni Ærarii*. But Cæsar now made the *Tribuni Ærarii* no longer eligible, and confined the judicial power exclusively to the members of the senate, or of the equestrian order[158]. Another of Cæsar's measures was directed against extravagance in the expenses of the table, being a renewal and an enforcement of the old sumptuary laws. Intemperance in eating and drinking was not Cæsar's favourite sensuality; and perhaps his feelings as a soldier may have made him dislike an indulgence which he might think inconsistent with the hardiness of a military nation. But he found that the impatience which men feel at being controlled by law, in a matter so entirely of a domestic nature, was too strong in this point for his authority; and learning that as soon as he left Rome his enactments were

[158] Suetonius, 41. Dion Cassius, XLIII. 226.

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disregarded, he wrote angrily from Spain to say that he was resolved henceforward to remain constantly in the capital, that his laws might be duly observed[159]; and afterwards, he is said not only to have posted guards at the markets, to prevent the sale of any forbidden articles[160], but sometimes to have sent his lictors and soldiers into private houses, and to have actually carried off from the table any dishes which exceeded the allowed expense of private entertainments. There were others of his acts which excited great odium against him at the time, and which proceeded indeed, very probably, from selfish motives; but which were really wise and liberal, and loudly called for by the existing circumstances of the empire. He conferred the rights of Roman citizenship on a whole legion of soldiers whom he had raised in Transalpine Gaul, and called by the name of the Alaudæ[161]. He bestowed also the same privilege on many of the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul, and intended to communicate it to all the people within the Alps[162], a purpose which was carried into effect soon after his death by M. Antonius and Octavius. He gave also the inferior distinction of the rights of Latin citizenship, "*Jus Latii*," to all the inhabitants of Sicily[163]. He introduced a number of persons into the senate, so that the majority of the whole body were said to owe their admission to him[164]; and amongst the rest

159 Cicero, ad Atticum, XIII. epist. VII.
160 Suetonius, 43.
161 Suetonius, 24.
162 Appian, de Bello Civili, V. 3.
163 Cicero, ad Atticum, XIV. epist. XII.
164 Cicero, de Divinatione, II. 9.

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were several Transalpine Gauls [165]; upon which an ironical notice was handed about in Rome, ordering "that no one should pretend to show the new senators the way to the senate-house." He raised several new families to the dignity of patricians [166], in order to supply the diminution of that order in the late war; and he admitted all physicians, as well as the professors of all other liberal arts and sciences, resident at Rome, to the right of citizenship. All these acts had a beneficial tendency, as far as they contributed to place the inhabitants of different parts of the empire on a level with each other; and prepared the way for their forming gradually one united nation, instead of regarding one another, as hitherto, in the light of masters and slaves, between whom there existed an insuperable barrier. Another class of Cæsar's measures regarded the important subject of population, and was an attempt to relieve the capital from some portion of that multitude of indigent citizens by which it was overburdened, and to substitute free inhabitants in the room of some of the slaves, who were now almost the sole cultivators of the soil in many parts of Italy. He is said to have settled no fewer than eighty thousand citi-

[165] Suetonius, 76. 80.

[166] Suetonius, 41. Tacitus, Annal. XI. 25. Dion Cassius makes Q. Fufius Calenus say, in his speech in defence of M. Antonius, that Cicero's family was among those raised, on this occasion, to the rank of patricians. This is not impossible, as Cæsar would naturally fix upon those families which were noble, though not patricians: and, as Cicero was almost the only man surviving who had been consul before the civil wars, his family would readily suggest itself as one of the first to receive this accession of dignity. Dion Cassius, 306.

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zens [167], many of them freedmen, in different colonies, and to have restored on this occasion many towns which had been ruined in former wars, particularly Carthage and Corinth. These two famous cities had been both destroyed in the same year, exactly a century before the period of their restoration; they were now rebuilt together, and in a very short time rose to a high degree of wealth and importance. Then, to ensure the existence of a free population in Italy [168], he forbade all citizens, between the ages of twenty and forty, from being abroad for more than three years together, except on military service; nor were the sons of senators allowed to leave the country at all, except they travelled in the suite of a magistrate. He also insisted that all graziers, and persons who fed sheep or other animals on a large scale, should employ freedmen in the proportion of at least one-third out of the whole number of their shepherds or herdsmen. But the short duration of Cæsar's power prevented these regulations from producing any sufficient effect; and in the reign of Augustus [169], it was still matter of complaint that many districts of Italy were only redeemed from desolation by the number of slaves belonging to the great landed proprietors of Rome.

Reform of the calendar.

The reform of the calendar, which was accomplished by Cæsar, is too famous to be altogether passed over in silence. It has been observed several times in the course of this history, that the nominal

[167] Suetonius, 42. Strabo, VIII. 436; XVII. 968, edit. Xyland.

[168] Suetonius, ubi supra.

[169] Livy, VI. 12.

time was about two months in advance of the real season of the year, so that what was called mid-summer, was in reality the latter end of April. This confusion was mainly owing to the strange power allowed to the pontifices of intercalating or adding to the year what number of days they pleased; and this power was very capriciously exercised, as the interests of their friends might require a greater number to be added to lengthen the period of their being in office, or a less number in order to shorten the term, when the annual magistracies were held by men of the opposite party. Cæsar now employed the ablest astronomers of the age to place the computation of time on a true footing[170]; and two months were added to the current year, that on the ensuing first of January the real and nominal time might agree with one another. For the future, the year was to consist of three hundred and sixty-five days, and a single day was to be added every fourth year, according to our present practice; so that this Julian calendar has been followed ever since by the nations of Europe, with only the slight correction introduced by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, and adopted in Great Britain in 1752, under the denomination of the New Style.

Additional honours bestowed on Cæsar, after his victory in Spain. U.C. 708.

Such were the principal public measures of Cæsar's government; but it was not by these that he provoked the conspiracy to which he fell a victim, so much as by the arrogance of his personal behaviour,

[170] Plutarch, in Cæsare, 59. Suetonius, 40.

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and his open assumption of the state, as well as of the power, of an absolute sovereign. After his last victory over the sons of Pompey in Spain, the flattery of the senate added yet more to the extravagant honours which they had already lavished on him; and it appears that the homage thus profusely offered to him was more than he could bear, and that he fancied himself greater in proportion to the increased servility with which he was regarded. It was voted that he should be styled the "father of his country," and that the title "imperator" should be prefixed to his name[171]; that his person should be declared sacred; and that he should be appointed dictator for life. His statue was placed in the temple of Quirinus or Romulus[172], and in the capitol, next to those of the seven traditional kings of Rome, and of L. Junius Brutus, the founder of the Commonwealth. He was allowed to wear, on all public festivities, the dress used by victorious generals at their triumphs[173]; and at all times to have a crown of laurel on his head. The month in which he was born, and which had till then been called Quintilis, was now named Julius, or July, in honour of him. Money was stamped with his image; and a guard of senators and citizens of the equestrian order was voted for the security of his person. It was apparently soon after his return from Spain, that the whole body of the senate waited upon him to com-

[171] Livy, Epitome, CXVI. Dion Cassius, XLIII. 235, 236.

[172] Cicero, ad Atticum, XII. epist. XLV.

[173] Suetonius.

municate to him the decrees which they had passed in his honour. He received them in state in front of the temple of Venus Genitrix which he had himself founded [174]; but he never rose from his seat, either when they first approached him, or when they presented to him so many tokens of their submission and devotion. This was an affront which was never forgiven; and it was particularly remarked [175], that during his own triumph, a short time before, when L. Pontius Aquila, one of the tribunes, allowed his triumphal chariot to pass by the benches appropriated to himself and his colleagues without rising from his place, Cæsar noticed it with great indignation, openly saying, that Aquila had better at once take from him the administration of the Commonwealth; and for some days afterwards, whenever he promised any thing to any one who waited upon him, he used ironically to add, "But you must obtain the consent of Pontius Aquila!" On another occasion when, at the time of the Latin holydays [176], Cæsar was riding into Rome in solemn procession, after having performed the usual sacrifices on the Alban hill, some voices amongst the multitude saluted him with the title of king, and a laurel crown, bound round with the white fillet or diadem, which was the well-known ornament of royalty, was placed upon one of his statues. Two of the tribunes, Epidius Marullus and C. Cæsetius Flavius, ordered

He gives offence by the arrogance of his behaviour.

[174] Livy, Epitome, CXVI. Dion Cassius, XLIV. 244.

[175] Suetonius, 78.

[176] Dion Cassius, XLIV. 245. Suetonius, 79.

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the diadem to be taken off from the laurel wreath, and the man who had put it on the statue to be taken into custody. Upon this Cæsar upbraided them in strong language for endeavouring to excite the popular odium against him, as if he were really ambitious of the kingly title; and by an exercise of what Paterculus calls his censorian power[177], he forbade them acting any more as tribunes, and expelled them from the senate, deploring, at the same time, we are told, his own hard fortune in being thus obliged either to do violence to the clemency of his nature, or to suffer his dignity to be compromised. It is added, that Cæsar so deeply resented the conduct of these tribunes[178], that he applied to the father of Cæsetius to renounce his son for his seditious behaviour, promising him that he would amply provide for his two other sons, if he complied with his wishes. But the old man replied, "that Cæsar should rather deprive him of all his children, than prevail on him to turn one of them out of his house as deserving to be given up by his father." Yet Cæsar was probably well aware of the odium to which he would be exposed if he were suspected of aiming at the honours of royalty; and it was to remove any such impression from the public mind, that he took occasion to answer to the acclamations of the populace, on one occasion, when they were saluting him with the title of king, "that he was Cæsar, and not a king." With the same view it is

[177] II. 68.

[178] Valerius Maximus, V. 7.

not unlikely that he had concerted beforehand the famous scene which took place on the fifteenth February, at the festival of the Lupercalia, when M. Antonius, who then held the office of consul, approached Cæsar, as he was sitting in state in the rostra above the forum, and presented to him a royal diadem. A murmur ran through the multitude[179], but it was instantly changed into loud applause, when Cæsar rejected the proffered ornament, and persisted in his refusal, although Antonius threw himself at his feet, imploring him, in the name of the Roman people, to accept it. To complete the purpose for which this scene was in all probability acted, Antonius caused a memorandum to be entered in the calendar for the year, "That on the day of the Lupercalia, M. Antonius, the consul, had, by the command of the people, offered the dignity of king to C. Cæsar, perpetual dictator, and that Cæsar had refused to accept it." Yet the opinion was still entertained, that Cæsar coveted this unlawful and abhorred title; and as mankind are the slaves of words, the imputation of aspiring to be king was eagerly laid to his charge by his enemies, as one which would most surely provoke against him the popular hatred.

Cæsar gives offence by his irregular manner of bestowing offices.

Another part of Cæsar's conduct which gave great offence, was his assuming so openly not only the patronage of the ordinary offices of the state, but the power of bestowing them in an unprecedented man-

[179] Cicero, Philippic. II. 34.

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ner, in order to suit his own policy. At the beginning of the year 708, he had assumed the title of consul, together with his dictatorship, but he had no colleague, and the office was, in fact, merely nominal. But on his return to Rome in October [180], after he had finished the campaign in Spain, wishing for an opportunity of rewarding two of his adherents, he resigned his consulship, and appointed Q. Fabius Maximus and C. Trebonius to succeed him for the remaining three months of the year. It happened that Q. Fabius died on the thirty-first of December, early in the morning [181]; and that no occasion of exercising his patronage might be lost, Cæsar caused the comitia to assemble about two o'clock in the afternoon, and to elect C. Caninius Rebilus for the few remaining hours of the year. The benefit of this short-lived honour appears to have been, that it conferred on the person who enjoyed it the rank of senator for life. Cæsar, in like manner, increased the number of prætors to fourteen [182], that of ædiles to six, and that of quæstors to forty: he also added one new member to the college of augurs, one to that of the Pontifices, one to the Quindecemviri or keepers of the Sibylline books, and three to the *Septemviri Epulonum*, who had the care of providing the feasts of the gods on all great solemnities. He made a point of rewarding every one who had served him; and thus he did not hesitate to intrust the

[180] Dion Cassius, XLIII. 236.

[181] Cicero, ad Familiares, VII. epist. XXX. Plutarch, in Cæsare, 58.

[182] Dion Cassius, XLIII. 237. 239, 240; XLII. 209.

charge of the public mint to some of his own slaves [183], and even to appoint the son of one of his freedmen to command three of his legions which he left in Egypt, after his departure from that country in the autumn of the year 706. He allowed the same spirit to interfere in the administration of justice; and we are told that one of his veterans [184], who had received a grant of land, having been brought before him on a charge of violent and oppressive behaviour towards his neighbours, was not only acquitted, but was presented by his judge with the very land on which he had unjustly encroached, as soon as he reminded Cæsar of some personal services which he had rendered him during his first campaign in Spain. In fact, Cæsar openly avowed, that if ruffians and cut-throats had supported him in his quarrel, he should think himself bound fully to requite them [185]. Yet after all, in spite of his multiplication of offices, and the profusion with which he bestowed them, the claims of his partisans were more than he could satisfy; and many of those who had served him through all his career of wickedness, were afterwards in the number of his assassins, because they did not think themselves sufficiently rewarded [186].

Sketch of his personal manners and behaviour.

Cicero has left us a curious sketch of a visit which he received from Cæsar at his villa near Puteoli, in the month of December, 708 [187]. On the twentieth

[183] Suetonius, in Cæsare, 76.
[184] Seneca, de Beneficiis, V. 24.
[185] Suetonius, 72.
[186] Seneca, de Irâ, III. 30.
[187] Cicero, ad Atticum, XIII. epist. LII.

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of December, Cæsar arrived at the house of L. Philippus, the father-in-law of Octavius, attended by two thousand soldiers, who followed him either for the security of his person, or as a mere guard of honour. He spent the morning of the following day at the house of Philippus, but was engaged the whole time in transacting business in private with L. Balbus. About one or two o'clock he took a walk on the sea-shore; after which he went into a bath, and heard, with the utmost composure, a most virulent epigram of Catulus against him, in which he was taxed, in plain terms, with those abominable profligacies to which we have before alluded [188]. After this he took his place at the table at Cicero's house, his immediate attendants forming part of the company, whilst the rest of his suite were entertained in separate apartments, according to their rank and respectability. "Cæsar seemed to enjoy himself exceedingly," says Cicero, "and was in very good spirits. The conversation did not touch at all on politics, but we talked much on literary subjects [189]." Yet, however agreeable he might make himself in private society, he kept up a degree of state at Rome which rendered access to his person difficult and humiliating to those who had lived with him so long, in former times, on a footing of equality. Cicero complains of the vexations and mortifications which he was obliged to endure in obtaining an

[188] Catullus, Cann. 29 and 57.

[189] "Σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν, in Sermone; φιλόλογα, multa."

audience from him [190]; and he was told by C. Matius [191], that once, when he had been detained for a long time, waiting till Cæsar could receive him, Cæsar had himself observed, "that he must necessarily be very unpopular, when M. Cicero was thus kept in attendance, and could not see him whenever it suited him." "I know," he continued, "that no one would be more ready than himself to make allowances for me, but I am sure that he must detest me." There were, however, many incautious expressions of his own, which found their way into general circulation, and excited a much stronger feeling against him. He was accustomed to ridicule Sylla for resigning the dictatorship [192]; he used to say, "that the Commonwealth was now nothing; it was a mere name, totally devoid of any reality;" and in language yet more arrogant, he added, "that he ought now to be spoken to with more deference, and that what he said should be considered as law." Yet he would not believe that he had any thing to fear from popular resentment, insisting that his life was of the utmost importance to his country; for that his ambition was now satisfied; but that, if he were to die, the republic would again be involved in civil wars more miserably than ever. Besides, his great courage rendered him insensible to danger, and impatient of precautions. In spite of the advice

His confidence in his own security.

[190] Cicero, ad Familiares, VI. epist. XIV. "Quum omnem adeundi et conveniendi illius indignitatem et molestiam pertulissem."

[191] Epistol. ad Atticum, XIV. epist. I. II.

[192] Suetonius, 77. 86.

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of his friends Hirtius and Pansa[193], who advised him to guard by the sword that power which the sword had won for him, he used to say, that he would rather die than make himself an object of terror to the people; and he so far confided in his popularity, or in the ascendancy which he had acquired, that he dismissed the guard of Spanish soldiers which had been in the habit of attending him. Meantime, as if his government at home were settled in full security, he formed plans of foreign conquests on the most extensive scale, which would employ him for some years at a distance from Rome. He talked of attacking the Parthians[194], and of subduing those wild tribes who dwelt on the banks of the Danube, and who occasionally made inroads upon the Roman territory in Thrace; and in order to provide for the administration of affairs during his absence, he drew out a list of persons who were to hold the principal offices of state for the next two years[195], still retaining to himself the title and authority of dictator. Nor, whilst projecting schemes of conquest, was he neglectful of the internal improvement of his dominions. It is mentioned, that he was intending to frame a digest of all the Roman laws[196]; to form public libraries, containing all the most valuable works of Greek, as well as of Roman literature; to build in the capital a temple in honour of Mars, and

His plans of conquest and of internal improvement.

[193] Velleius Paterculus, II. 57. Suetonius, 86.

[194] Suetonius, 44. Dion Cassius, XLIII. 239. Plutarch, 58.

[195] Cicero, ad Atticum, XIV. epist. VI. Dion Cassius, XLIII. 239.

[196] Suetonius, 44.

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a theatre, both in the highest style of magnificence; to drain the Pontine marshes; to make a grand line of communication across the Apennines from the Tiber to the Adriatic; to carry a canal from Rome to Tarracina, in order to facilitate the arrival of goods in the capital from Sicily and the East; to improve and enlarge the harbour of Ostia, and to dig through the isthmus of Corinth. Such are said to have been his designs; and preparations were already made for carrying the military part of them into execution. His nephew, C. Octavius[197], whom he had named as his master of the horse for one of the years of his intended absence, was sent over to Apollonia, in Epirus, there to remain, and to pursue his literary studies, till Cæsar should arrive in Greece to put himself at the head of his army; and a force both of infantry and cavalry had been already transported across the Ionian gulf[198], and was quartered in Macedonia, waiting till the return of spring should enable them to commence their expedition against Parthia.

Report that it was intended to declare him king.

It was about this time reported, that L. Cotta, one of the Quindecemviri, or keepers of the Sibylline books, was intending to propose to the senate that Cæsar should be declared king[199], and this step was

[197] Dion Cassius, XLIII. 239; XLV. 271. Velleius Paterculus, II. 59.

[198] Appian, de Bello Civili, II. 110. Appian says there were sixteen legions, and ten thousand cavalry; a most ridiculous exaggeration. But Appian is the worst authority, and that is saying not a little, of all the writers who have left us accounts of these times.

[199] Suetonius, 79. Cicero, de Divinatione, II. 54.

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to be urged on the authority of the Sibylline oracles, which declared that a king was necessary to the safety of Rome, in the event of a war with Parthia. Whether the rumour was true or false, it is said to have hastened the resolution of those persons who had already formed a conspiracy against Cæsar's life, and to have determined them to choose the fifteenth or ides of March, for the execution of their purpose, that being the day on which it was believed that L. Cotta would bring forward his proposal before the senate. It remains, therefore, that we give some account of the origin of this famous conspiracy, and of the principal persons who were engaged in it.

A conspiracy formed against his life.

Sketch of the principal conspirators.

M. Junius Brutus.

It is agreed on all sides that M. Junius Brutus and C. Cassius Longinus were the chief promoters of the design. The former of these was the son of that M. Brutus who had taken part in the rebellion of M. Lepidus immediately after the death of Sylla, and who had in consequence been put to death at Mutina, by the orders of Pompey, in the year 676. The son, M. Brutus, was by his mother's side the nephew of M. Cato, and he accompanied his uncle to Cyprus in the year 695, when he was sent by P. Clodius to annex that island to the Roman empire. It appears, however, that he did not copy the example of Cato's integrity; for, having become the creditor of the citizens of Salamis to a large amount[200], he employed one M. Scaptius, a man of infamous character, to enforce the payment of his debt, to-

[200] Cicero, ad Atticum, V. epist. XXI.; VI. epist. I. II. III.

gether with an interest four times exceeding the rate allowed by law. And when Cicero governed the province of Cilicia, to which Cyprus seems to have been attached, Brutus wrote to him, and was supported by T. Atticus in his request, entreating him to give Scaptius a commission as an officer of the Roman government, and to allow him to employ a military force to exact from the Salaminians the usurious interest which he illegally demanded. Cicero was too upright a magistrate to comply with such requests; but they were so agreeable to the practice of the times, that he continued to live on intimate terms with the man who could prefer them; and the literary tastes of Brutus were a recommendation which he could not resist; so that he appears soon to have forgotten the affair of Scaptius, and to have spoken and thought of Brutus with great regard. They both, indeed, were of the same party in politics; and we are told that Brutus exerted himself very actively in Pompey's service in the campaign of 705 in Greece [201], and being taken prisoner after the battle of Pharsalia, received his life from the conqueror. Before Cæsar set out for Africa to carry on war against Scipio and Juba, he conferred on Brutus [202] the government of Cisalpine Gaul [203]; and

[201] Cicero, ad Atticum, XI. epist. IV. Dion Cassius, XLI. 184. Plutarch, in Bruto, 6.

[202] Cicero, ad Familiares, VI. epist. VI.

[203] "Where," says Ferguson, "he remained, perhaps, rather under safe custody, than high in the confidence of Cæsar." Book V. 1. "He was induced," says Middleton, "by Cæsar's generosity, *and his mother's prayers*, to lay down his arms and return to Italy. Cæsar endeavoured to oblige him by all the honours which his power could bestow; but the indignity of re-

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in that province Brutus accordingly remained, and was actually holding an office under Cæsar, while his uncle Cato was maintaining the contest in Africa, and committing suicide rather than fall alive into the hands of the enemy. His character, however, seems to have been greatly improved since his treatment of the Salaminians; for he is said to have governed Cisalpine Gaul with great integrity and humanity[204], insomuch that his statue was preserved in Milan when Augustus had obtained the sovereignty of the empire; and the popularity which he obtained was reflected in some measure, we are told, upon the government of Cæsar, from whom he had received his appointment. In the year 708 he returned to Rome, but afterwards set out to meet Cæsar on his return from Spain, and in an interview which he had with him at Nicæa[205], pleaded the cause of Deiotarus, king of Galatia, with such warmth and freedom, that Cæsar was struck by it, and was reminded of what he used frequently to say of Brutus, that what his inclinations might be, made a very great difference, but that whatever they were,

ceiving from a master what he ought to have received from a free people, shocked him much more than any honours could oblige."—Life of Cicero, II. 210, 8vo, edit. 1819.

Ferguson's conjecture, so far as we have been able to find, is as destitute of any authority or probability as Middleton's insertion of the words which we have printed in italics, and which endeavour to represent Brutus as sacrificing his patriotic independence to the entreaties of his mother. As to the rest of Middleton's statement, we can only wonder that a writer, in a Christian country, should think that he was panegyrizing his hero by imputing to him such a disposition.

[204] Plutarch, in Bruto, 6. Comparat. Dionis cum Bruto, 5.

[205] Cicero, ad Atticum, XIV. epist. I.

they would be nothing lukewarm. It was about this time, also, that Brutus divorced his first wife, Appia, the daughter of Appius Claudius, and married the famous Porcia, his cousin, the daughter of Cato. Soon after he received another mark of Cæsar's favour [206], in being appointed *Prætor Urbanus* for the year 709; and he was holding that office when he resolved to become the assassin of the man whose government he had twice acknowledged, by consenting himself to act in a public station under it. Sir Matthew Hale did well to accept the place of judge during the usurpation of Cromwell; but what should we think of him if, whilst filling that office, he had associated himself with Colonel Titus, and other such wretches, in their plans to remove the protector by assassination?

C. Cassius Longinus.

C. Cassius Longinus was remarkable, even when a boy, for the pride and violence of his temper, if we may believe the anecdotes reported of him by Plutarch [207] and Valerius Maximus. He accompanied M. Crassus into Parthia as his quæstor, and distinguished himself, after the death of his general, by conducting the wreck of the Roman army back to Syria in safety. We have already spoken of him as being one of the tribunes at the beginning of the civil war; and have mentioned his having the command of the Syrian squadron in Pompey's fleet, and the interruption which he met with, whilst engaged successfully against the enemy, from the news of the

[206] Plutarch, in Bruto, 7. Dion Cassius, XLIV. 246.

[207] In Bruto, 9. Valerius Maximus, III. 1.

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battle of Pharsalia. He afterwards resigned the contest, and submitted himself to Cæsar in Asia Minor, when Cæsar was returning from Egypt into Italy; yet Cicero asserts[208], that at that very time he had intended to assassinate the man whose clemency he was consenting to solicit, had not an accident prevented the accomplishment of his purpose. He was not only spared by Cæsar, but was appointed by him one of his lieutenants[209]; a favour bestowed by magistrates on their friends, in order to invest them with a public character, and thus enable them to reside or to travel in the provinces with greater comfort and dignity. Even during the last campaign of Cæsar in Spain, Cassius wrote to Cicero, saying that he was anxious that Cæsar should be victorious[210], for that he preferred an old and merciful master to a new and a cruel one. He also, together with Brutus, was appointed one of the prætors for the year 709[211], at a moment in which he was entirely discontented with Cæsar's government, and is said to have been the person by whose intrigues the first elements of the conspiracy were formed.

Decimus Brutus and C. Trebonius.

Next to M. Brutus and C. Cassius, may be ranked Decimus Brutus and C. Trebonius. These had both served Cæsar in the civil war, and had commanded the land and sea forces employed by him in the siege of Massilia. Since that time Trebonius had

[208] Philippic. II. 11.
[209] Cicero, ad Familiares, VI. epist. VI.
[210] Ad Familiares, XV. epist. XIX.
[211] Plutarch, in Bruto, 7. Cicero, ad Familiares, XI. epist. II. III.

been appointed proconsul of the Further Spain, and more recently, as we have seen, had enjoyed the title of consul during the last three months of the year 708. Decimus Brutus was chosen to succeed to the consulship in the year 711 [212], and to the command of the province of Cisalpine Gaul immediately; he was also named by Cæsar in his will, amongst those persons who were to inherit his fortune, in case of the failure of his direct heirs. Another of the conspirators was L. Tillius Cimber, a man notorious for his drunkenness and low violence [213], who had been throughout the civil war a vehement partisan of Cæsar, and had received from him lately the appointment to the province of Bithynia [214]. Ser. Sulpicius Galba, the great grandfather of the emperor of that name, had also served under Cæsar in Gaul, and probably, in the civil war; but he was now offended, because Cæsar had not given him the honour of the consulship [215]. L. Minucius Basilus is also mentioned as having had a command in Cæsar's army in Gaul [216], and as now being one of the conspirators against him; while P. Servilius Casca, Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, L. Pontius Aquila, and Q. Ligarius, had been attached to the party of Pompey, although they had since submitted,

L. Tillius Cimber.

Ser. Galba.

L. Minucius Basilus.

[212] Velleius Paterculus, II. 58. 60. Suetonius, in Cæsare, 83.

[213] Seneca, epist. LXXXIII. De Irâ, III. 30.

[214] Appian, de Bello Civili, III. 2. Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. XIII.

[215] Suetonius, in Galbâ, 3.

[216] Cæsar, de Bello Gallico, VI. 29. He had afterwards fought in Spain under Cneius Pompeius in 708, and had then submitted to Cæsar, promising to be faithful to him hereafter, as he had been to Pompeius. Auctor de Bell. Hispan. 19.

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and received the conqueror's pardon. Ligarius, in particular, had been suffered to return to Italy in consequence of the earnest solicitations of his friends, amongst whom Cicero had appealed most strongly to Cæsar's clemency [217], and had gone so far as to represent Ligarius penitent for his fault, taking refuge in Cæsar's mercy, and imploring pardon for his past conduct.

Q. Ligarius.

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Cn. Domitius [218] was the son of that L. Domitius who had been the unsuccessful candidate for the consulship, in opposition to Pompey and Crassus, in the year 698, who had been appointed as Cæsar's successor in Gaul at the beginning of the civil war, who had been taken prisoner at Corfinium, and had afterwards been killed at Pharsalia. His son was also the nephew of Cato, whose sister L. Domitius had married; so that this young man was likely to inherit a violent hatred against Cæsar; nor does it appear that he had ever imitated the conduct of Brutus in accepting places of confidence and honour from the conqueror.

The motives by which the conspirators were actuated, which, perhaps, they themselves could not have analyzed exactly, have been variously guessed by historians, according to their own prevailing

[217] Cicero, pro Ligario, 10.

[218] His name is mentioned amongst the assassins of Cæsar by Cicero, Philippic. II. 11; but Suetonius (in Nerone, 3,) says that he was accused without foundation of having had a share in the deed. Was he among those patrician youths who joined the conspirators immediately after the murder, wishing to appear concerned in it, and did Cicero favour from policy this false pretension? or were Domitius himself and his posterity anxious in after-times to deny the fact, when he was receiving the favours of Augustus, or when one of them, Nero, ascended the imperial throne?

opinions. Personal and party feelings may be confounded unconsciously with patriotism, even by the very man who is influenced by them; nor would it be reasonable to deny that many of Cæsar's murderers had persuaded themselves that the interests of their country were promoted by their act. But if we could inquire by what process they had acquired this persuasion, and with how much self-deception it was accompanied, we should, it is probable, find that their motives were widely distinct from that purity, and singleness, and sincerity of purpose which are essential to real goodness. At any rate, it is clear that they who had served Cæsar in the civil war, and had shared in the honours and advantages of his victory, could with no shadow of justice become his murderers. Their patriotism ought to have been shown when Cæsar first commenced his rebellion; and had they then followed the example of Labienus, and forsaken their general when he began to be guilty of treason against his country, their motives might have been unquestioned, and their conduct would have been really just and honourable. Nor can even Brutus and Cassius be excused for accepting honours and offices from a government which they must have considered as unlawful and tyrannical. If Cæsar's power were required by the circumstances of the Commonwealth, to destroy him was mischievous; if it were an evil which was only to be endured so long as it was inevitable, to countenance it, by acting under it in a

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public station, was an abandonment of their duty to their country. But, above all, the act of assassination is in itself so hateful, and involves in it so much dissimulation and treachery, that whatever allowance may be made for the perpetrators, when we consider the moral ignorance of the times in which they lived, their conduct must never be spoken of without condemnation. And it is satisfactory to find that crimes of this nature have generally been as fruitless as they deserved to be. Harmodius and Aristogiton, by murdering Hipparchus, only subjected Athens to a heavier tyranny; and the assassination of Cæsar furnished something of a pretence to his surviving followers, to involve the most eminent friends of the Commonwealth in one unsparing destruction.

The whole number of the conspirators is said to have exceeded sixty; and their intention was at first to have effected their purpose either in the street in which Cæsar lived, or in the Campus Martius, when he was presiding at the elections of magistrates; but when they heard that the senate was summoned to meet on the fifteenth of March, and it was rumoured that the proposal of bestowing on Cæsar the title of king was then to be brought forward, they fixed upon that day, and on that meeting of the senate, as the time and place best suited for their attempt.

Events which happened previous to Cæsar's murder.

On the evening of the fourteenth of March, Cæsar was supping with M. Lepidus, his master of the horse, who was now at the head of a body of troops

without the walls[219], and was preparing shortly to march with them into Transalpine Gaul, which had been assigned to him by Cæsar as his province. It happened that Cæsar was engaged in writing, when the rest of the party began to discuss the question, "What kind of death is most to be desired?" The subject on which they were talking caught his attention, and he cried out, before any one else had expressed an opinion, "That the best death was a sudden one." A coincidence so remarkable was likely to be remembered afterwards by all who had been present; but it is said, also, that he had been often warned by the augurs to beware of the Ides of March[220]; and these predictions had, probably, wrought on the mind of his wife, Calpurnia, so that, on the night that preceded that dreaded day, her rest was broken by feverish dreams, and in the morning her impression of fear was so strong, that she earnestly besought her husband not to stir from home. He himself, we are told, felt himself a little unwell[221]; and being thus more ready to be infected by superstitious fears, he was inclined to comply with Calpurnia's wishes, and allowed some part of the morning to pass away, and the senate to be already assembled, without having as yet quitted his house. At such a moment the conspirators were alive to every suspicion; and becoming uneasy at his delay, Decimus Brutus was sent to call on him[222],

[219] Dion Cassius, XLIII. 240; XLIV. 249. Plutarch, in Cæsare, 63. Suetonius, 87.

[220] Plutarch, 63. Suetonius, 81.

[221] Suetonius, 81.

[222] Suetonius, 81. Plutarch, 64.

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and to persuade him to attend the senate, by urging to him the offence that he would naturally give, if he appeared to slight that body at the very moment when they were preparing to confer on him the title of king. Decimus Brutus visited Cæsar, and being entirely in his confidence, his arguments were listened to, and Cæsar set out about eleven o'clock to go to the senate-house. When he was on his way thither, Artemidorus of Cnidus, a Greek sophist, who was admitted into the houses of some of the conspirators, and had there become acquainted with some facts that had excited his suspicions, approached him with a written statement of the information which he had obtained, and, putting it into his hand, begged him to read it instantly, as it was of the last importance. Cæsar, it is said, tried to look at it, but he was prevented by the crowd which pressed around him, and by the numerous writings of various sorts that were presented to him as he passed along. Still, however, he held it in his hand, and continued to keep it there when he entered the senate-house.

He is nearly warned in time of his danger.

Antonius is taken aside by Trebonius at the entrance of the senate.

M. Antonius, who was at this time Cæsar's colleague in the consulship, was on the point of following him into the senate, when C. Trebonius called him aside [223], and detained him without, by professing to desire some conversation with him. It is said that some of the conspirators had wished to include him in the fate of Cæsar; but Brutus had objected

[223] Cicero, Philippic. II. 14. Velleius Paterculus, II. 58.

to it as a piece of unnecessary bloodshed; and when it was remembered that he himself, not long ago, had proposed to Trebonius the very act which they were now about to perform, they consented that his life should not be endangered. Meantime, as Cæsar entered the senate-house, all the senators rose to receive him. The conspirators had contrived to surround his person in the street, and they now formed his immediate train as he passed on to the curule chair, which had been prepared, as usual, for his reception. That chair had been placed near the pedestal of a statue of Pompey the Great; for the building in which the senate was assembled had been one of Pompey's public works[224]; and it is said, that Cassius[225], labouring under the strong feeling of the moment, turned himself to the image, and seemed to implore its assistance in the deed which was to be perpetrated.

Assassination of Cæsar, March 15th U.C. 709, A.C. 44 or 45.

When Cæsar had taken his seat, the conspirators gathered more closely around him, and L. Tillius Cimber approached him as if to offer some petition[226], which he continued to press with vehemence when Cæsar seemed unwilling to grant it, and the other conspirators joined in supporting his request. At last, when Cæsar appeared impatient of further importunity, Cimber took hold of his robe and pulled it down from his shoulders; an action which was the signal agreed upon with his associates for commencing their attack. It is said that the dagger of

[224] "Curia Pompeia." Cicero, de Divinatione, II. 9.

[225] Plutarch, in Cæsare, 66.

[226] Suetonius, 82. Plutarch, 66.

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P. Casca took the lead in the work of blood, and that Cæsar, in the first instant of surprise, attempted to resist and to force his way through the circle which surrounded him. But when all the conspirators rushed upon him, and were so eager to have a share in his death, that they wounded one another in the confusion, he drew his robe closely around him, and, having covered his face, fell without a struggle or a groan. He received three and twenty wounds, and it was observed that the blood, as it streamed from them, bathed the pedestal of Pompey's statue. No sooner was the murder finished, than M. Brutus [227], raising his gory dagger in his hand, turned round towards the assembled senators, and called on Cicero by name, congratulating him on the recovery of their country's liberty. But to preserve order at such a moment was hopeless: the senators fled in dismay; Antonius made haste to escape to his house; and a universal consternation was spread through the city; till the conspirators, going in a body to the forum, addressed the people, and by assuring them that no violence was intended to any one, but that their only object had been to assert the liberty of Rome, they succeeded in restoring comparative tranquillity. Still, however, distrusting the state of the popular feeling, they withdrew into the capitol, which Decimus Brutus had secured with a band of gladiators whom he retained in his service; and there, having been

[227] Cicero, Philippic. II. 12. 35. Dion Cassius, XLIV. 249, 250.

joined by several of the nobility, they passed the first night after the murder. Meanwhile, the body of Cæsar was left for some hours, amidst the general confusion, on the spot where it fell[228]; till at last three of his slaves placed it on a litter, and carried it home, one of the arms hanging down on the outside of the litter, and presenting a ghastly spectacle. It was asserted by the surgeon who examined the wounds, that out of so many one alone was mortal; that, namely, which he had received in the breast when he first attempted to break through the circle of his assassins.

Character of Cæsar.

Cæsar is said to have been in his stature tall[229], and of a fair complexion, but with black and lively eyes. In attention to his person and dress he almost exceeded the bounds of mere neatness; and in gratifying his tastes for villas, furniture, pictures, statues, and in the choice of his slaves, he was accustomed to spare no expense or trouble. He was temperate in his eating and drinking, as became a soldier; and his activity of body corresponded with the extraordinary vigour of his mind. It is a remarkable feature in his character, that he seems to have been alive to so many and such various enjoyments; excessively addicted to gross sensualities, a lover of every kind of intellectual gratification, from the humblest of the fine arts to the highest and deepest parts of philosophy, enamoured at the same time of popular honours, and, above all things, ambitious of political greatness.

[228] Suetonius, 82.

[229] Suetonius, 45, 46, 47.

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He is said to have composed two books[230], "On the Method of speaking Latin with the greatest Propriety," while he was crossing the Alps on his return from his winter quarters in the north of Italy to rejoin his army in Gaul; and on another occasion he wrote a poem, entitled "The Journey," while he was travelling into Spain with the utmost rapidity to oppose the progress of the sons of Pompey in the year 708. His "Commentaries," which alone, of all his writings, have reached posterity, are admirably calculated to answer the purpose for which they were designed, the impressing his readers with the most favourable notions of himself. Although the representations which they contain are a continued picture of his abilities and successes, yet, because they are given in a quiet and unpretending style, they have gained credit for truth and impartiality; and critics, in their simplicity, have extolled the modesty of the author, because he speaks of himself in the third person. As a general, it is needless to pronounce his eulogy; we may observe, however, that the quality which most contributed to his success on several occasions was his great activity; and although this may seem a virtue no way peculiar to men of superior minds, yet in the practical business of life there is none which produces more important results. Nor is it, in fact, an ordinary quality when exhibited in persons invested with extensive power; for then it implies quickness and decision in diffi-

[230] Cicero, de claris Oratoribus, 72. Suetonius, 56.

culties, than which nothing confers on one man a more commanding superiority over others. In his political career Cæsar was at once patient and daring; and the uniform success of all his schemes through so many years, must prove his judgment in the choice of means to accomplish his purposes. One weakness he seems to have possessed, and that was vanity; which he indulged unseasonably and fatally in receiving so greedily the honours which were at last heaped upon him, and in disgusting the public feeling by expressing, with so little reserve, his sense of his own superiority. The submissions which he met with were indeed enough to excite his arrogance; for not the most servile flattery of our own clergy and lawyers to the Tudor and Stuart princes can equal the meanness and extravagance of the language addressed to Cæsar by the republican Romans. In fact, we see from different parts of Cicero's works, and particularly from many of the letters inserted in the collection of his correspondence, that the expressions used by inferiors towards their superiors in rank, seem to imply very little independence of feeling in the bulk of the Roman people; and the excessive compliments which Cicero delighted to receive, and which he paid with equal liberality, betray a littleness and indelicacy of mind which we should not have expected to meet with in men of high birth and station, the citizens of a free commonwealth.

If from the intellectual we turn to the moral character of Cæsar, the whole range of history can

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hardly furnish a picture of greater deformity. Never did any man occasion so large an amount of human misery, with so little provocation. In his campaigns in Gaul, he is said to have destroyed 1,000,000 of men in battle [231], and to have made prisoners 1,000,000 more, many of whom were destined to perish as gladiators, and all were torn from their country and reduced to slavery. The slaughter which he occasioned in the civil wars cannot be computed; nor can we estimate the degree of suffering caused in every part of the empire by his spoliations and confiscations, and by the various acts of extortion and oppression which he tolerated in his followers. When we consider that the sole object of his conquests in Gaul was to enrich himself and to discipline his army, that he might be enabled the better to attack his country; and that the sole provocation on which he commenced the civil war, was the resolution of the senate to recall him from a command which he had already enjoyed for nine years, after having obtained it in the beginning by tumult and violence; we may judge what credit ought to be given him for his clemency in not opening lists of proscription after his sword had already cut off his principal adversaries, and had levelled their party with the

[231] Plutarch, in Cæsare, 15. Pliny has estimated the sum with greater minuteness, probably from the returns exhibited at Cæsar's triumphs of the number of enemies whom he had destroyed. He makes the persons whom Cæsar had killed in war to amount altogether to 1,192,000, exclusive of those who had perished in the civil war, and of whom no account was taken. Pliny, Hist. Nat. VII. 25.

dust. Yet, after all his crimes, the circumstances of his death render him almost an object of compassion; and though it cannot be said of his assassins, that

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> "Their greater crime made his like specks appear,
> From which the sun in glory is not clear,"

yet we naturally sympathize with the victim, when the murderers, by having abetted or countenanced his offences, had deprived themselves of all just title to punish them, and when his fall was only accomplished by the treachery of assassination.

# CHAPTER X.

CAIUS OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS.—A VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF ROME.—FROM U.C. 709 TO U.C. 722, A.C. 45 TO A.C. 32.

CHAP. X.

From U.C. 709 to 722, A.C. 45 to 32.

Parentage and early life of Augustus.

WE have already spoken slightly of the family of Augustus Cæsar, and have mentioned his relationship to C. Julius Cæsar, as being the grandson of his sister Julia. Julia married M. Attius Balbus, a native of Aricia [1], who rose to the rank of prætor at Rome; and Attia, their daughter, married C. Octavius, a man of respectable family, who also obtained the same dignity, and died when he was on the point of offering himself as a candidate for the consulship. He left behind him one son, C. Octavius, who was born at Rome on the twenty-third of September, U.C. 690, in the consulship of M. Cicero and C. Antonius. The young Octavius lost his father when he was only four years old, and his mother soon after married L. Philippus, under whose care he was brought up, till his great uncle, Julius Cæsar, having no children, began to regard him as his heir [2],

[1] Suetonius, in Augusto, 4.

[2] Velleius Paterculus, II. 59.

and when he was between sixteen and seventeen years of age, bestowed on him some military rewards at the celebration of his triumph for his victories in Africa [3]. In the following year he accompanied his uncle into Spain, where he is said to have given signs of talents and of activity; and in the winter of that same year he was sent, as we have seen, to Apollonia in Epirus, there to employ himself in completing his education till Cæsar should be ready to take him with him on his expedition against the Parthians. He was accordingly living quietly at Apollonia when the news of his uncle's death called him forward, when hardly more than eighteen years of age, to act a principal part in the contentions of the times.

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On the morning of the sixteenth of March, Brutus and Cassius, with their associates, were still in the capitol, and Cicero and several other persons attached to the aristocratical party [4] had joined them there. Antonius, finding himself exposed to no danger, appeared again in public, as consul; and Dolabella [5], who had been appointed by Cæsar to succeed him in the consulship, as soon as he should commence his expedition against the Parthians, now at once assumed the ensigns of that dignity; although with strange inconsistency he went up into the capitol to visit the conspirators, and, if Appian may be believed [6], strongly inveighed against the late dictator in a speech addressed to the multitude in

State of affairs in Rome after Cæsar's death.

[3] Suetonius, 8.
[4] Cicero, Philippic. II. 35.
[5] Dion Cassius, XLIV. 250.
[6] De Bello Civili, II. 122.

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the forum. M. Lepidus, who, as we have seen, was at this time invested with a military command, having been lately appointed to the government of the Nearer Spain, had some intentions, it is said, of availing himself of his actual power to establish himself in the place of Cæsar[7]; but Antonius, who had no wish to see his own views thus anticipated, easily prevailed upon him to lay aside such designs for the present; representing to him, we may suppose, the danger of such an attempt, and encouraging him with the prospect of obtaining hereafter all that he desired, if he would consent to temporize at the moment. But the real obstacle to the restoration of the Commonwealth, consisted in the numbers and dispositions of Cæsar's veteran soldiers, many of whom were waiting in Rome to receive their promised allotments of land; and others had come up from their new settlements to compliment their old general, by attending in his train when he should march out of the city to commence his eastern expedition[8]. These then naturally resented the death of their benefactor, and feared at the same time lest they should be deprived of their grants of land if he were declared a tyrant, and his acts should be reversed. They were therefore a great encouragement to Antonius and Lepidus, and gave such alarm to the conspirators, that they remained in the capitol, still trusting to the gladiators of Decimus Brutus for protection, and not venturing to expose their persons

Disposition of the veterans.

[7] Dion Cassius, XLIV. 257. [8] Appian, de Bello Civili, II. 119.

in the streets or in the forum. Nor were the veterans the only set of men who were interested in upholding the legality of Cæsar's government. He had nominated, as we have seen, the principal magistrates of the Commonwealth for the next two years, under pretence of preventing any disorders during his absence in Asia; and the individuals who, by virtue of these appointments, were either in the actual enjoyment or in the expectation of offices either honourable or lucrative, were little disposed to submit their pretensions to the chance of being confirmed or rejected by the free votes of the Roman people. Besides, the late civil war had so extended over every part of the empire, and every province contained so many persons who had risen to affluence or distinction in consequence of the offices or of the grants of forfeited estates conferred on them by Cæsar, that to repel all his measures, and to brand his government as an usurpation, would have at once unsettled the whole existing order of society. The foreigners who had been admitted to the rights of Roman citizens, and the many individuals who, in the course of the late commotions, had risen from humble stations to greatness, would have ill brooked the return of that exclusive and insulting system which was upheld by the friends of the old aristocracy.

Under these circumstances, the act of the assassins of Cæsar was likely to have no other effect than to expose their country to a fresh series of miseries, from which it would have no better prospect of

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relief, than a return at last to that very military despotism which they had so rashly attempted to overthrow. Cicero indeed had advised the only measure which could have given the conspirators any chance of maintaining their ground in Rome[9]; for he had urged Brutus and Cassius to summon the senate, by their authority as prætors, to assemble in the capitol immediately after Cæsar's death, before Antonius had recovered from his panic, or the veterans had had time to calculate their own strength or to look out for a new leader. But this counsel was not followed; and it was left for Antonius, in his character of consul, to call the senate together at the temple of the Earth on the seventeenth of March[10], when the doors of the assembly were beset by Cæsar's veterans in arms, and when they who hoped that they had restored the old constitution of the Commonwealth dared not even to leave the shelter of the capitol. Nor was it a slight circumstance, that Calpurnia, Cæsar's widow, had put into Antonius's hand the money and all the papers of her late husband[11]; a trust from which he intended to derive the most important benefits.

Meeting of the senate on the 17th of March.

In the meeting of the senate on the seventeenth of March, the reviving strength of Cæsar's party was already distinctly marked. Instead of declaring him a tyrant, it was ordered that the late dictator should be honoured with the usual funeral rights paid to

[9] Cicero, ad Atticum, XIV. epist. X.

[10] Cicero, ad Atticum, XIV. epist. XIV.; and Philippic. II. 35.

[11] Appian, II. 125.

distinguished persons[12], and that Antonius should deliver to the multitude an oration in his praise. All his acts were confirmed; his appointments of public officers for the next two years were pronounced valid; and all the grants of lands made to the veterans were to be preserved inviolable. In return for these concessions, the partisans of Cæsar acceded to Cicero's proposal[13], that the whole transaction of the ides of March should be consigned to oblivion, and that all hostile designs should be relinquished on all sides. Antonius in particular expressed himself warmly in favour of a general and lasting peace; and this being the prevailing feeling of the assembly, the act of oblivion was passed: Antonius sent his son to the capitol as a hostage for his sincerity. The principal conspirators then descended from it; and we are told that Brutus that same evening supped with Lepidus, and Cassius with Antonius[14].

A general act of amnesty passes.

After this apparent termination of all dissensions, the conduct of Antonius was exceedingly artful. He frequently invited the most distinguished members of the senate to his house, and consulted them as to the measures which it would be expedient to pursue. On the other hand, by coming forward to deliver Cæsar's funeral oration, he gave the veterans reason

[12] Cicero, ad Atticum, XIV. epist. VI. IX. X. Philippic. I. 1. 7.

[13] Cicero, Philippic. I. 1. 13; II. 36.

[14] Dion Cassius, XLIV. 257. Plutarch, in Bruto, 19.

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to understand that he was really attached to their late commander, and would not fail, when an opportunity should offer, to act upon his real sentiments. In the meantime Cæsar's will was opened and read; and it appeared that C. Octavius was named the heir to the greatest part of the property[15], and that he was adopted into the name and family of Cæsar. Several of the conspirators had been appointed guardians to Cæsar's son, if ever he should have one; and Decimus Brutus, as has been said before, was mentioned amongst those who were to inherit his fortune, in case of the failure of his regular heirs. To the Roman people Cæsar bequeathed his gardens on the right bank of the Tiber; and to each citizen a sum of money amounting to about 2*l.* 8*s.* His funeral was prepared in a style of great magnificence[16]; the pile on which the body was to be consumed had been raised in the Campus Martius; and a small model of the temple of Venus Genitrix, which he had built and dedicated, was placed in front of the rostra in order to receive the bier, whilst the funeral oration was delivered. The bier was made of ivory, and covered with scarlet and gold, and at the head of it was displayed on a pole the very dress in which he had been assassinated. In the dramatic entertainments which were exhibited as a part of the solemnity, passages were selected from the plays of Pacuvius and Attius, which the

Cæsar's will opened.

Cæsar's funeral.

[15] Suetonius, in Cæsare, 83.

[16] Suetonius, in Cæsare, 84.

audience might readily apply to the circumstances of Cæsar's fate; particularly one line from Pacuvius, CHAP. X. From U.C. 709 to 722, A.C. 45 to 32.

"Was I so merciful,
But to provide assassins for myself?"

When then Antonius came forward in the rostra to speak the funeral oration, he ordered the crier to read aloud to the multitude all the decrees of the senate, by which Cæsar had been invested with so many and such extraordinary honours, and the oath which all the senators had taken to defend his person; after which he added only a few words of his own [17]. But his purpose was sufficiently answered, and enough had been done to excite the feelings of the multitude, disposed as they were of themselves to remember Cæsar's brilliant achievements with admiration, and his liberalities with gratitude and regret. Instead of carrying the body to the Campus Martius, some proposed to burn it in the temple of Jupiter in the capitol, and others in the senate-house of Pompey, which had been the scene of his murder. But on a sudden, two of the veteran soldiers who attended the funeral, stepped forward armed with their swords, and each holding two javelins in his hand, and set fire to the bier with lighted torches in the place were it was standing in the front of the rostra. The flames were fed by the His body burned in the forum.

[17] Perpauca a se verba addidit—Suetonius, in Cæsare, 84. Dion Cassius makes him deliver a speech on this occasion which occupies nearly nine folio pages. He had just before filled six pages with a speech which he ascribes to Cicero, and which is about as genuine as the pretended funeral oration of Antonius.

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zeal of the surrounding crowd with a quantity of dry brush-wood, and with the benches and seats which were usually left in the forum; those who had brought offerings of various kinds to present them at the funeral pile, now threw them in to increase the conflagration; the musicians and actors in the funeral games stripped off their dresses, and cast them also into the fire; several matrons added their own ornaments, and those of their children, while the veteran soldiers crowned the whole with the offering of their own arms. Groups of foreigners of various nations were seen expressing their grief according to the fashion of their several countries; and amongst these the Jews were particularly remarkable; their hatred to Pompey for his violation of the sanctity of their temple having, perhaps, disposed them to support the cause of his adversary. When the populace were satiated with feeding the fire, they dispersed in all directions, bent upon violence and bloodshed. They attacked the houses of those persons who were known to be adverse to Cæsar [18]; and especially those of the chief conspirators, Brutus and Cassius, whence they were driven off by force of arms, as in the old disorders and contests between Clodius and Milo. In the midst of their fury, they fell in with a man by name Helvius Cinna; and mistaking him for Cornelius Cinna, who had given great offence by a speech delivered the day before, full of invective against

Riots of the populace on that occasion.

[18] Cicero, Philippic. II. 36. Suetonius, in Cæsare, 85.

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Cæsar, they instantly murdered him, and carried his head about with them on the head of a pike. This display of the temper of the populace served the purposes of Antonius by intimidating the conspirators; but as he designed to establish his power on a surer basis than the support of a riotous rabble, he appeared to give no countenance to their excesses. A mixed multitude, consisting of slaves, and foreigners, and citizens of the lowest class, erected a marble pillar[19], twenty feet high, in the forum, with an inscription declaring it to be dedicated to Cæsar, under the title of "Father of his country." Close by this pillar there was an altar raised, on which sacrifices continued for some time to be offered to Cæsar as a god; and parties at variance with one another would come to this spot, and decide their quarrels by an oath in Cæsar's name. The groups that used to assemble round this column menaced the capital daily with scenes of outrage similar to those which had been exhibited at Cæsar's funeral; till P. Dolabella proceeded to disperse them, and with the usual summary severity of a Roman magistrate, crucified a number of the slaves, and threw down from the Tarpeian rock those free citizens who were most forward in exciting these disturbances[20]. It is said that when Dolabella returned to his house after these executions, he was followed by a crowd of all ranks of persons, testifying their

Dolabella disperses the rioters.

[19] Suetonius, 85. Cicero, Philippic. I. 2.

[20] Cicero, Philippic. I. 2. 12; ad Atticum, XIV. epist. XVI.; ad Familiares, IX. epist. XIV.

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admiration of his conduct: that he received similar applauses shortly afterwards in the theatre; and that Cicero was warmly complimented by his friends on this earnest of patriotic intentions which his son-in-law had afforded.

Story of C. Amatius, the pretended grandson of Marius.

Antonius had also an opportunity about the same time of gaining the good opinion of the higher classes of citizens by acting in a similar manner. There was a man of very low origin, of the name of C. Amatius, who some months before, in the lifetime of Cæsar, had claimed to be the grandson of the famous Marius, and had applied to Cicero, as a relation and townsman of Marius[21], to support him in making good his pretensions. Cicero was not disposed to commit himself by maintaining such a cause; but the name of Marius was popular amongst a large proportion of the common people; and we are told that almost all the companies of the different trades in Rome[22], together with some of the newly founded colonies of the veterans, and even some considerable free towns of Italy, believed the story of Amatius, and chose him to be their patron. He was followed also by a considerable multitude when he appeared in the streets; till Cæsar, impatient of such a rival in popularity, issued a decree to banish him from Italy. But after the ides of March, he returned again to Rome, and professed, as the descendant of Marius, to feel particular regret for the murder of his relation, Cæsar; insomuch, that he

[21] Cicero, ad Atticum, XII. epist. XLIX. Livy, Epitome, CXVI.

[22] Valerius Maximus, IX. 15.

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continually instigated the populace to take vengeance on the conspirators, and under this pretence had formed a design, as we are told[23], to massacre the principal senators of the aristocratical party, and to rule in Rome as L. Saturninus and P. Sulpicius had done in former times. But the days were past in which ambition could hope to rise by the mere support of the turbulent rabble of the capital. Antonius, glad, perhaps, to please and to blind his opponents so cheaply, employed a military force against Amatius, and having arrested him, ordered him to be put to death in prison, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, and caused his body to be dragged by a hook through the streets, and to be thrown into the Tiber. This execution took place about the middle of April[24]; and up to this period, Antonius had appeared desirous in several instances to maintain the old constitution of the Commonwealth. To lessen the dissatisfaction that might be felt by many at the confirmation of all the acts of Cæsar[25], he assured the senate that Cæsar's papers contained no grants of privileges or peculiar exemptions of any sort, and that they directed the recall of only one exile, Sex. Clodius; he agreed, moreover, to the motion of Ser. Sulpicius, that none of Cæsar's decrees or grants should be published, which had not already been announced by public advertisement before the ides of March. Above all, he pro-

The office of dictator is abolished by Antonius

[23] Cicero, Philippic. I. 2. Valerius Maximus, ubi supra. Appian, de Bello Civili, III. 2, 3.

[24] Conf. Ciceron. ad Atticum, XIV. epist. VII. VIII.

[25] Conf. Ciceron. Philippic. I. 1.

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posed that the office of dictator should be for ever abolished; a proposal which was most joyfully acceded to by the senate, and for which they bestowed on him their thanks in the warmest terms. His treatment of C. Amatius, combining with his behaviour in all these instances, is said to have given satisfaction even to Brutus himself[26]; and seemed to afford so fair a prospect of future tranquillity, that Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, expresses his belief that Brutus might now go in safety through the forum, with a cover of gold upon his head[27].

The conspirators retire from Rome.

But these hopes were chequered by fears even from the beginning, and it was not long before they were destroyed altogether. The tumults in the city, and the threatening language held by Cæsar's veterans, who were now assembled at Rome in great numbers, rendered the situation of the conspirators so unsafe, or at least so uncomfortable, that they judged it expedient to withdraw for the present out of the reach of danger. At first they had remained in their own houses at Rome, and had only avoided appearing in public[28]; but when the disorders continued, they thought it best to remove to a greater distance; and, accordingly, Brutus, apparently accompanied by Cassius, retired to his own villa at Lanuvium[29]; Trebonius set out in the most private manner to go to his province of Asia; and Decimus

[26] Conf. Ciceron. ad Atticum, XIV. epist. VIII.

[27] Conf. Ciceron. ad Atticum, XIV. epist. XVI.

[28] Conf. Ciceron. ad Atticum, XIV. epist. V.

[29] Conf. Ciceron. ad Atticum, epist. VII. X.

Brutus hastened to Cisalpine Gaul[30], to secure the command of that province, which Cæsar, as has been already noticed, had conferred on him before his death. This appears to have been a sudden resolution; for there is extant a letter from Decimus Brutus, to M. Brutus and Cassius[31], dated in the month of April, in which he speaks in a very desponding manner of the state of his party, and says that they have no other resource but to withdraw into a voluntary exile; that they can do nothing at present, as they have no military force to support them; nor was there any quarter to which they could look for aid, except to the camp of Sex. Pompeius, in Spain, and of Q. Cæcilius Bassus, in Syria. Yet on the twenty-sixth of April, Cicero had received intelligence from Atticus, that Decimus Brutus had already joined his legions in Cisalpine Gaul; and in that province he remained during the whole summer, endeavouring to strengthen himself to the utmost against any attempts of his adversaries. In order to acquire some reputation for himself, and to obtain the means of attaching his soldiers to him by his liberality, he employed his time in attacking some of the Gaulish tribes who inhabited the Alps[32]; and having taken many of their strongholds, and wasted their country, he received from his army the title of imperator, and was enabled, as he hoped, to gratify it with a large share of plunder.

Decimus Brutus takes possession of Cisalpine Gaul.

[30] Conf. Ciceron, ad Atticum, epist. I. epist. XIII.

[31] Cicero, ad Familiares, XI. epist. IV.

[32] Cicero, ad Familiares, XI.

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Antonius forges grants in Cæsar's name, and sells them for his own benefit.

Soon after the departure of the conspirators from Rome, Antonius proceeded to show the use which he intended to make of the confirmation of Cæsar's acts by the senate. In spite of the restriction to which he had himself assented, that no new grant should be published after the ides of March, Antonius is accused of having commenced a system of audacious forgeries [33], affixing notices in the forum of all sorts of donations and immunities, both to states and private individuals, which he pretended to have discovered amongst Cæsar's papers, but which he is charged with having invented at his own discretion, and sold as an unfailing source of revenue to himself. Besides all this, he is taxed with having appropriated an immense treasure which Cæsar had acquired by his confiscations and plunderings, and had deposited in the temple of Ops. With this money, Antonius is said to have discharged the debts of his colleague, Dolabella, and to have thus secured him to his own interests; at the same time he found his power of selling forged grants so profitable to himself, that, if we may believe Cicero, he paid all his own debts, to the amount of above 300,000*l.*, in the short interval that elapsed between the ides of March and the first of April.

He courts Cæsar's veteran soldiers.

In order to obviate effectually all opposition to his views, he made a progress through several parts of Italy in the months of April and May [34], in which

[33] Velleius Paterculus, II. 60. Cicero, Philippic. II. 37, 38; Philippic. V. 4; ad Atticum, XIV. epist. XII. XVIII.

[34] Cicero, Philippic. II. 39; ad Atticum, XIV. epist. XXI.

he took occasion to address himself to Cæsar's veterans in their different settlements, and to conjure them to bind themselves by oath, to maintain all Cæsar's acts, and to procure the appointment of two commissioners to inspect his papers every month, in order to decide whether all their provisions were duly carried into effect. He also spread a report, that the veterans would be most nearly concerned in the discussion which was to take place in the senate on the first of June[35]; and this rumour induced them, as he intended, to assemble in crowds at Rome, so that it became unsafe for the conspirators or their friends to be present at the meeting. Yet, during all this time, Antonius preserved an appearance of respect and civility towards Brutus and Cassius. He had prevailed on them to dismiss their friends, who had assembled from several of the municipal towns of Italy to protect them, assuring them that it would be wise to avoid every appearance of suspicion or hostility; and he had also proposed to the senate, that Brutus should be dispensed from the observation of the law[36], which forbade a prætor to be more than ten days absent from Rome. He wrote, also, to Cicero in very friendly language, requesting him to consent to the restoration of Sex. Clodius from exile; and telling him, that although he might be bound in duty to restore him, as his recall had been one of Cæsar's acts, yet he would not press the point, unless Cicero was willing to

[35] Cicero, ad Familiares, XI. epist. II.

[36] Cicero, Philippic. II. 13.

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agree to it. Cicero, in return, assured Antonius of his perfect readiness to comply with his request; and added, that both on public and private grounds there was no man for whom he entertained a higher regard [37]. Such was his language towards the end of the month of April; in the September following he delivered his first philippic.

C. Octavius returns to Italy from Epirus.

In the mean time, the tidings of Cæsar's murder had reached his nephew, C. Octavius, at Apollonia, whither, as we have before mentioned, he had been sent to complete his education, and to be in readiness also to attend his uncle when he should set out on his expedition into Parthia. As the probable heir of Cæsar's greatness, he already received many attentions from the officers of the army which was then quartered in Macedonia; and when Cæsar's death was known, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, and Q. Sabidienus Rufus, who are here first spoken of as his friends [38], advised him to embrace the offers which many of the soldiers and centurions made him, of assisting him to revenge his uncle's murder. But as he was not yet aware of the strength of that party which he would find opposed to him, he judged it expedient in the first instance to return to Italy in a private manner. On his arrival at Brundisium he learned the particulars of Cæsar's death, and was informed also of the contents of his will [39],

[37] Cicero, ad Atticum, XIV. epist. XIII. B. Nam quum te semper amavi, primum tuo studio, post etiam beneficio provocatus; tum his temporibus Respublica te mihi ita commendavit, ut cariorem habeam neminem.

[38] Velleius Paterculus, II. 59.

[39] Dion Cassius, XLV. 271. Velleius Paterculus, ubi supra.

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by which himself was declared his heir, and his adopted son. He did not hesitate instantly to accept this adoption, and to assume the name of Cæsar; and, it is said, numerous parties of his uncle's veterans, who had obtained settlements in the districts of Italy, through which he passed, came from their homes to meet him, and to assure him of their support[40]. He arrived at Neapolis on the eighteenth of April[41], and had an interview there with L. Balbus, who had been so long the confidential friend of Cæsar, and who reported to Cicero, on the very same day, that Octavius was resolved to accept the inheritance bequeathed to him. From Neapolis he proceeded to see his mother, and his father-in-law, L. Philippus, at their villa near Puteoli. It happened that Cicero was at this time at his own villa, which was almost close to that of Philippus[42]; and not only L. Balbus, but A. Hirtius and C. Pansa were also staying in the same neighbourhood. Octavius, doubtless, consulted these old adherents of his uncle with some anxiety, as to the prospects which were opened to him at Rome; he expressed, however, great respect and regard for Cicero, as he was disposed at present to conciliate persons of every party, although Cicero, in conformity with the example of L. Philippus, did not address him by the name of Cæsar. It is said, indeed, that both his mother and his father-in-law earnestly dissuaded him

[40] Appian, de Bello Civili, III. 12.

[41] Cicero, ad Atticum, XIV. epist. XI.

[42] Cicero ad Atticum, XIV.

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He is coolly received by Antonius.

from coming forward as his uncle's heir, and from availing himself of his adoption into the Julian family [43]; but his own resolution was taken, and he continued his journey to Rome without loss of time. On his arrival in the capital he requested an interview with M. Antonius, hoping, probably, to form at once a coalition with him, in order to take vengeance on the perpetrators of his uncle's murder; but Antonius was at this time in the height of his power, as the executor, in a manner, of Cæsar's grants and ordinances; nor was he disposed to admit such an associate as Octavius, who, as the relation and heir of Cæsar, would naturally take the highest place in any party that might be formed to avenge his death. Accordingly he treated him with great coolness, and declined any co-operation with him; upon which Octavius, not at all discouraged, proceeded to exhibit some games to the people in honour of Cæsar's victories [44], the management of which was undertaken by two of Cæsar's old friends, Matius and Postumius. It was on this occasion that Octavius ventured to exhibit Cæsar's state chair, which the senate had allowed him to use whenever he appeared in public; but the tribunes of the people ordered it to be removed; and it appears that the whole of the equestrian order loudly applauded them for doing so. It is said, too, that Antonius in this instance supported the tribunes [45]; and that he also opposed the

[43] Velleius Paterculus, II. 60. Suetonius, in Augusto, 8.

[44] Cicero, ad Familiares, XI. epist. XXVIII.; ad Atticum, XV. epist. III.

[45] Plutarch, in Antonio, 16. Appian, de Bello Civili, III. 30.

views which Octavius entertained of being elected tribune himself[46], in the place of one of that body who happened to die about this time. Irritated at this behaviour, Octavius began to turn his attention to the aristocratical party[47], to speak with apparent respect of Brutus and Cassius, and seem desirous of courting the friendship of Cicero. In the mean time he exerted himself more earnestly to secure to himself the attachment of the legions[48], well knowing that if he could gain their support, he might make his own terms either with Antonius or with the aristocracy.

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We may suppose that Antonius felt himself greatly strengthened by the favourable reception which Cæsar's colonies of veterans had given him, during his progress through different parts of Italy in the months of April and May. The expectations of the veterans were raised by the reports so industriously spread, that their interests would be nearly concerned in the measures to be proposed at Rome when the senate should assemble on the first of June; and it was probably whispered among them, that the aristocratical party would endeavour to recall

[46] Suetonius, in Augusto, 10. Appian, III. 31. Dion Cassius, XLV. 272.

[47] Cicero, ad Atticum, XV. epist. XII.

[48] Cicero, ad Atticum, XV. epist. IV. dated the twenty-third of May. In this letter there occurs a passage which is given variously and corruptly in the MSS. but which Schütz, in his edition, has ventured to alter, on conjecture, into *De Legione probè*. He supposes that Cicero alludes to a disposition manifested by one of the legions to take part against Antonius. That Octavius was intriguing with Cæsar's veterans is stated by Appian, III. 31; but none of them actually joined him in arms till a later period.

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Cæsar's friends are suspicious of the designs of the aristocratical party.

or to diminish the grants of land which they were at present enjoying. Suspicions of a similar kind were, indeed, not confined to the soldiers and inferior officers, but were shared largely by those who had been most familiarly connected with Cæsar, by Balbus, Hirtius, Oppius, Matius, and by their friends in general. Assassination is a crime which, when once practised or defended by a political party, must render it impossible for their opponents to trust them again; and while Cæsar's friends regarded the late dictator as the victim of his own unsuspecting confidence, they naturally imagined that the conspirators and their friends assumed the language of moderation only whilst they were overawed by the populace and the veterans[49]; and that so soon as Decimus Brutus should have organized an army in Cisalpine Gaul, and Sex. Pompeius with his rapidly increasing force should have arrived from Spain to join him, the aristocratical party would retract the concessions made in the temple of the Earth on the seventeenth of March, and would annul all the acts of Cæsar's sovereignty, as they had formerly intended to do to those of his first consulship. With regard to Brutus and Cassius themselves, although they were living in apparent privacy at Lanuvium, yet it was suspected that they were turning their views towards the east-

[49] Cicero, ad Atticum, XIV. epist. XXII. Ὑπόθεσιν hanc habent, (scil. Cæsariani,) eamque præ se ferunt, virum clarissimum interfectum, totam Rempublicam illius interitu perturbatam; irrita fore quæ ille egisset, simul ac desistamus timere; clementiam illi malo fuisse, quâ si usus non esset, nihil ei tale accidere potuisse.

ern provinces[50], and were trusting to establish their ascendency over that portion of the empire. Their associate Trebonius was already gone to take possession of the province of Asia. Q. Cæcilius Bassus was still in arms against Cæsar's officers in Syria; Deiotarus, king of Galatia[51], whom Cæsar had deprived of a part of his dominions for his adherence to the cause of Pompey, had immediately, upon receiving tidings of Cæsar's death, reinstated himself in the territories which he had lost; the name of Cassius was highly respected in Syria, from the ability which he had shown in preserving the wreck of Crassus's army after the Parthian expedition, and more recently in conducting the operations of the Syrian squadron in Pompey's fleet, during the late civil wars; and there were in Greece and Macedonia many who had suffered severely from Cæsar's confiscations[52], and who would therefore gladly contribute

[50] It is asserted by Appian, III. 2, and by Florus, IV. 7, that Macedonia and Syria had been assigned by Cæsar to Brutus and Cassius before his death; and Appian adds, that this appointment was confirmed by the senate on the 17th of March, but afterwards revoked by Antonius before the arrival of Octavius at Rome. But it is evident from Cicero, that this was not the case, and that Brutus and Cassius had not, like Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, any provinces of which they could claim the command, till the senate, in the month of June or July, while appointing the prætors as usual to their provincial governments, bestowed on them respectively Crete and, as it appears, Cyrenaica. These proofs of the inaccuracy of the later writers make us approach with regret to that period when we shall be obliged to follow them entirely, and when we shall lose the invaluable guidance of Cicero, whose letters are our only good authority for the transactions of these times.

[51] Cicero, Philippic. II. 37.

[52] The people of Buthrotum in Epirus, for instance, are often spoken of in Cicero's letters as having had their lands confiscated by Cæsar for the benefit of his veterans. And the people of

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to aid the reviving cause of the aristocracy. On all these accounts the better class of Cæsar's friends distrusted the fair professions of the conspirators, and dreaded the approach of a counter-revolution; while Antonius and Dolabella, sharing these feelings perhaps themselves, and at any rate well aware of the policy of pretending to feel them, prepared to make these suspicions their own ground of justification for the violent course which they were now going to pursue.

The presence of the veterans at Rome, and the hostile feelings which they were said to entertain towards the friends of the old constitution, created an unwillingness on the part of the conspirators and their friends, to attend the approaching meeting of the senate on the first of June. As the day drew nearer, the violent dispositions of the soldiers seemed likely to find a leader in Antonius; and the show of military force at his disposal was so menacing, that a considerable portion of the senators absented themselves from the capital [53], and their absence furnished Antonius with a pretext for neglecting the authority of the senate from this time forward. Accordingly, on the second of June [54], a law was passed in the assembly of the people, intrusting to the consuls the entire cognizance of all Cæsar's acts and measures, and thus sanctioning that absolute controul which

Laws passed by Antonius and Dolabella.

Dymè, in Achaia, being in the same predicament, had recourse to piracy about this very time, to afford them a maintenance. See Cicero, ad Atticum, XVI. epist. I.

[53] Cicero, Philippic. II. 42.

[54] Cicero, ad Atticum, XVI. epist. XVI.

they already exercised, by having Cæsar's papers in their possession; and, it is added, his secretary in their pay[55]. Another law bestowed on Antonius the command of the province of Cisalpine Gaul for six years[56], together with the army which had been sent over into Greece by Cæsar, in preparation for his expedition against Parthia. This was in direct violation of Cæsar's law, which forbade the consular provinces to be given to any one for a longer period than two years; but, if we may believe Cicero[57], the soldiers of Antonius occupied all the avenues to the forum, and kept out all whom they thought likely to oppose the measure. At the same time Macedonia was given for two years, equally in defiance of Cæsar's law, to C. Antonius, the brother of Marcus, who was one of the prætors for the year[58]; and P. Dolabella obtained the appointment to the province of Syria.

On the fifth of June the senate was again assembled[59], and it was voted that Brutus should be sent into Asia, and Cassius into Sicily, to buy corn, and see that it was transported to Rome for the supply of the market of the capital. Brutus and Cassius were at this time at Antium[60], and Cicero met them there on the eighth, and consulted with them on the pro-

[55] Cicero, ad Atticum, XIV. epist. XVIII. Appian, de Bello Civili, III. 5.

[56] Cicero, Philippic. V. 3; II. 42; I. 2. 8. Dion Cassius, XLV. 274.

[57] Philippic. I. 2. 10; V. 4.

[58] Cicero, Philippic. V. 3. Dion Cassius, XLV. 274. 277.

[59] Cicero, ad Atticum, XV. epist. IX.

[60] Cicero, ad Atticum, XV. epist. XI.

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priety of accepting or refusing such an appointment. The commission to buy corn they considered as degrading; and Servilia, the mother of Brutus, who, from her intimacy with Cæsar, enjoyed considerable influence amongst the members of his party, assured Cassius, who was particularly averse to it, that she would procure the repeal of that part of the senate's decree which related to the corn. However, both Brutus and Cassius were invested with the character of public officers, and provinces were voted to them in common with the other prætors[61]; but whether the vote was passed at this time, or a few weeks later, does not sufficiently appear. It was proposed, we are told, by Antonius, and was accompanied by a permission to them to appoint a greater number of lieutenants than was usually allowed; for Antonius had not yet laid aside the appearance of friendship towards them. Yet his other acts as consul seemed to declare that he was not really inclined to content himself with the condition of a citizen in a free Commonwealth. He brought forward at once an agrarian law, a change in the constitution of the judicial power, and another in the manner of proceeding against persons charged with rioting, or with treasonable practices. So invariable did each new adventurer tread in the steps of his predecessors, and endeavour to re-open the door which they had successively hoped to shut against all future demagogues, so soon as they had themselves passed

Laws of Antonius.

[61] Cicero, Philippic. II. 13.

through it. By his agrarian law, Antonius proposed to nominate a commission of seven persons[62], who were to possess the usual exorbitant powers granted to such commissioners in declaring what were national domains, and in distributing them at their pleasure. Their authority was so extensive, that Cicero hyperbolically describes them as empowered to divide the whole of Italy[63]; and it is mentioned, that Campania[64], together with some of the most valuable land possessed by the Commonwealth in Sicily, were amongst the districts to be subjected to their disposal. The constitution of the judicial power had been, as we have seen, a frequent subject of dispute during the course of the last century; and one of Cæsar's late enactments had bestowed it, exclusively, on the senatorian and equestrian orders, and had repealed the more liberal provisions of the Aurelian law, by which it had been communicated also to some of the wealthiest class of the plebeians. Antonius, however, proposed not only to repeal Cæsar's restrictions, but to open the judicial power more indiscriminately than ever, by making any man eligible who had ever held the rank of centurion[65]; and, in fact, by so removing all the qualifications formerly required, that common soldiers and naturalized foreigners might now become judges. His third and worst measure was to allow an appeal to the people from all persons convicted before the

[62] Cicero, ad Atticum, XV. epist. XIX.
[63] Cicero, Philippic. V. 3.
[64] Cicero, Philippic. II. 39.
[65] Cicero, Philippic. I. 8; V. 5, 6.

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ordinary tribunals, of any acts in violation of the public peace[66]; a law which was, in fact, a promise of impunity to all who should be guilty of riots or seditions. These acts were all carried, it is said, by violence[67], and in contempt of all the religious impediments with which their opponents attempted to obstruct their course. Antonius was openly escorted by armed men in the forum and in the senate; and the veterans, whose grants of land he had taken care to confirm by the authority of the people, were present in crowds in the capital to support him against all opposition.

Growing animosity between Antonius and the conspirators.

While these proceedings were going on at Rome, Brutus and Cassius were chiefly at Antium, or in Campania; and both were preparing to pass over into Asia. Brutus was to exhibit some games at Rome in the early part of July[68]; but as he did not like to appear in the city himself, C. Antonius, as one of his colleagues in the prætorship, undertook the management of them in his name. It was on this occasion that the people eagerly caught at some passages in one of the dramatic entertainments which seemed applicable to Brutus, and received them with enthusiastic applause. This, perhaps, irritated and alarmed Antonius; nor was he pleased that Brutus and Cassius, in one of their proclamations which they issued as prætors, should have declared their intention still to absent themselves from Rome on

[66] Cicero, Philippic. I. 9, 10.

[67] Cicero, Philippic. I. 10; II. 42; V. 4. 6, 7.

[68] Cicero, ad Atticum, XV. epist. XXVI.; XVI. epist. I. II. Dion Cassius, XLVII. 338.

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account of the disordered state of the capital[69], and that they were evidently preparing to leave Italy and repair to the eastern provinces. Antonius, in a counter-proclamation, treated this language as a declaration of war, and threatened to have recourse to arms; his tone in his public speeches became more arrogant; and he was heard to say openly that none could hope to save their lives, except their party should prove victorious[70]; which was, in other words, a denunciation of woe to the vanquished. L. Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law[71], ventured to speak against Antonius in the senate on the first of August, but no one supported him, and finding all resistance hopeless, he forbore to attend in the senate again. Yet soon after this it appears that Brutus and Cassius entertained the hope of organizing a more successful opposition[72]; for they sent letters to all the senators of consular and prætorian rank, requesting them to be present in the senate on the first of September; and on the seventeenth of August, Brutus met Cicero at Velia; and finding that he had already renounced his design of leaving Italy, and was then returning to Rome, he expressed the greatest satisfaction at this change of purpose, and his hopes that Cicero was going to take an active part in the administration of the Commonwealth. It is probable that Brutus and Cassius, being now

[69] Cicero, ad Familiares, XI. epist. III.

[70] Cicero, ad Atticum, XV. epist. XXII.; Philippic. V. 8, nisi victorem, neminem victurum.

[71] Cicero, ad Atticum, XVI. epist. VII.; Philippic. I. 4. 6.

[72] Cicero, ad Atticum, XVI. epist. VII.

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fully resolved to secure to themselves, if possible, the resources of the eastern provinces, were anxious to acquire such a support in the senate as might free them from the charge of rebellion, and might ensure for all their proceedings the sanction of the government at home. We cannot tell, however, by what means they hoped to deprive Antonius of his military superiority in Italy; and yet, while he retained it, they could not calculate on their party's obtaining the ascendency either in the senate or in the forum. Perhaps they trusted that many of Cæsar's old officers, and particularly Hirtius and Pansa, the two consuls elect, were disgusted with the late conduct of Antonius, and would be able to counteract his influence over the minds of the soldiers[73]. But their plans and their cause were finally ruined by the interference of C. Octavius, who, taking to himself the part which Hirtius and Pansa might have performed sincerely and effectually, succeeded indeed in drawing away the army from Antonius, but only to attach it to himself; and coming forward as the heir and adopted son of Cæsar, rallied around him the whole strength of his uncle's adherents, and was thus enabled, eventually, to dictate terms to Antonius on the one hand, and on the other to crush for ever the reviving hopes of the aristocracy.

Sex. Pompeius restored to his country by an agreement with Lepidus.

It was about this time that the aristocratical party lost an army, which, if it had existed for a few months longer, might have altered the whole com-

[73] Cicero, ad Atticum, XV. epist. XXII. dated on the 25th of June.

plexion of affairs. We have already stated that Sex. Pompeius was in arms against the officers of Cæsar in Spain, at the period of Cæsar's assassination. He had been gradually increasing his strength, had defeated C. Asinius Pollio, Cæsar's lieutenant[74], and had made himself master of New Carthage, and of most of the towns in what was called the Farther Spain. The tidings of Cæsar's death gave him great encouragement, and produced a general sensation in his favour; he had seven legions under his command, which constituted a formidable force, although they were probably composed chiefly of ill-disciplined troops, and might not perhaps have had their full complement in point of numbers. Thus circumstanced, he addressed a letter to the consuls at Rome, couched, according to Cicero, in firm but temperate language, in which he demanded his restoration to his country; and that all armies in every part of the empire should be equally disbanded. At the same time he wrote to his father-in-law, L. Libo[75], to say that he would conclude no peace unless he could recover the property of his father which had been confiscated by Cæsar, and sold to different individuals by public auction. The validity of these sales, as well as of all the rest of Cæsar's acts, had been recently confirmed by law; and besides, Antonius himself had been the purchaser of Pompey's house at Rome, and was now actually residing in it;

[74] Cicero, ad Atticum, XVI. epist. IV. Dion Cassius, XLV. 274, 275.

[75] Cicero, ad Atticum, XVI. epist. IV.

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so that it was not likely to be given up without some compensation. But at this time M. Lepidus commanded the province of the Hither Spain[76], and thus found himself exposed to the first attacks of an enemy who had already overrun the whole of the Farther Spain, and had defeated one of Cæsar's lieutenants in the field. Lepidus felt himself unequal to the contest, and was therefore warmly disposed to accede to all that Sex. Pompeius requested[77]. The senate willingly confirmed what Lepidus had promised; and it was agreed that Sex. Pompeius should be restored to his country, and that a sum amounting to about 5,650,000*l.* should be granted to him out of the treasury, to enable him to redeem his father's property. Satisfied with these conditions, Pompeius gave up his army, quitted the province in which he had so long maintained himself, and repaired to Massilia[78], where he remained for some time in a state of suspense, not deeming it expedient or safe to return to Rome in the midst of those disorders which had now again begun to distract the Commonwealth.

Cicero commences his opposition to Antonius.

We have said that Cicero was met by Brutus at Velia on the seventeenth of August, and was requested by him to take an active part from henceforward in the management of public affairs; in other words, to put himself at the head of the aristocratical

[76] Cicero, Philippic. V. 14, 15; XIII. 4, 5. Dion Cassius, XLV. 275.

[77] Quum Lepido omnes Imperatores forent meliores, is the remark of Velleius Paterculus on another occasion, II. 63, and it is equally applicable here.

[78] Cicero, Philippic. XIII. 6. Appian, de Bello Civili, IV. 84.

party, and make one vigorous attempt to recover for them their ancient ascendency. This, indeed, was now become Cicero's fixed resolution; he thought he saw a more favourable opportunity for acting with effect, than had occurred at any period of the late war between Cæsar and Pompey; and laying aside at last all hesitation, he went to Rome to commence his memorable career of opposition to Antonius, and to all the partisans of his revolutionary system. He arrived in the capital on the thirty-first of August, and on the following day the senate was to assemble, in order to vote a solemn thanksgiving to the gods in honour of Cæsar's exploits. According to his own account[79], Cicero feeling some fatigue from his journey, and not considering the business on which the senate was summoned to be very important, forbore to attend the meeting. His absence greatly exasperated Antonius, who interpreted it probably into an insinuation that it was useless to appear in the senate while the debates of that body were overawed by a military force. Accordingly Antonius spoke with great violence, and threatened to come and pull down Cicero's house, if he persisted in absenting himself. It was usual, we must remember, for the consuls to enforce the attendance of senators either by a fine, or by seizing some article of their property as a security for their appearance; but the threat of Antonius far exceeded the authority which any former consuls had been known to exercise in

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[79] Cicero, Philippic. I. 5. et seq.

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similar circumstances. On the following day, however, Cicero did attend the senate, when Antonius in his turn was absent; and he then delivered the speech which is known by the name of the first Philippic Oration. It contains a strong condemnation of the measures which Antonius was pursuing, expressed however in temperate language, and unmixed with personalities; yet it gave Antonius the greatest offence. He summoned the senate to meet again on the nineteenth of September, and on that day replied to Cicero's attack upon his measures by a violent invective [80], in which, amongst other things, he charged him with being an accomplice in Cæsar's murder; intending, as Cicero asserted, to excite the resentment of the veterans against him, and hoping that they would make some attempts on his life, if he ventured to appear in the senate-house. But Cicero having suspected, whether justly or no, that he could not attend without danger, was resolved not to risk the experiment; and similar fears, he tells us, kept away P. Servilius, who had expressed the same sentiments as he had done on the second of September; and L. Piso, who had set the first example of opposition to Antonius, by his speech on the first of August. The famous oration, therefore, which is entitled the Second Philippic, and which professes to have been spoken in the senate on the nineteenth of September, in reply to the invectives of Antonius, was in reality never delivered at all,

[80] Cicero, Philippic. V. 7; ad Familiares, XII. epist. II.

but was written by Cicero about this time, and sent to Atticus in the month of October, with an express caution that he would not let it be seen by those friends of Antonius who were in the habit of visiting at his house [81]. In fact, Cicero retired into the country soon afterwards, and remained for some time at one or other of his villas, only going to Rome at intervals, and leaving it again immediately. He thought that nothing could be done in the senate till the new consuls entered upon their office; meantime an unexpected enemy suddenly came forward against Antonius, and attacked him with weapons more effectual than Cicero's eloquence.

C. Octavius comes forward against Antonius.

We have seen that C. Octavius had been coolly received by Antonius at his first arrival in Rome, after Cæsar's murder. It is said, that not content with slighting him as a political associate, Antonius endeavoured to obstruct, or at least to delay, his adoption into the Julian family; as he could not claim the possession of his uncle's inheritance [82] till he had gone through the forms by which he became Cæsar's adopted son. On this provocation, Octavius resolved to do himself justice by the most atrocious means, and although he was only nineteen years of age, he suborned some ruffians to assassinate Antonius [83], the consul of the republic, in his own house. The attempt was discovered in time, but it

[81] Cicero, ad Atticum, XVI. epist. XI. Caleni interventum et Calvenæ cavebis.

[82] Florus, IV. 4. Dion Cassius, XLV. 272.

[83] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. XXIII. Seneca, de Clementiâ, I. 9.

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threw Antonius into the utmost perplexity and alarm. As it had not succeeded, a large portion of the people doubted its reality, and believed that the charge had been falsely brought forward against Octavius, in order to procure his ruin, that Antonius might enjoy his property without disturbance. So strong in fact was the public feeling, and so unpopular was Antonius at this period, that he did not think it advisable to bring his intended assassins to trial. But he trembled at the insecurity of his situation; and finding that Octavius was now leagued with his enemies, and being informed probably of the intrigues which he was carrying on with Cæsar's veterans, he thought that he should require the support of a stronger military force than the guard with which he had hitherto protected his person, and by which he had overawed the senate and the forum. In justice to his memory we should remember, that the assassination of Cæsar might well have deterred him from exposing himself in a similar manner to the daggers of the conspirators or of their partisans; and that, when Cicero so loudly complains of the introduction of a barbarian guard into the senate-house, he should have reflected that the crime committed by his own friends, had rendered such a precaution natural, if not necessary. Be this as it may, Antonius thought his present force insufficient any longer to defend him; and, accordingly, he set out on the ninth of October for Brundisium [84], in

[84] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. XXIII.

order to secure the four legions which were quartered in that neighbourhood, and which having formed part of the army assembled in Macedonia by Cæsar for his Parthian expedition, had lately returned to Italy, and remained still embodied, under no other authority than that of their own immediate officers. When he arrived at Brundisium [85], he proceeded to address the soldiers, and offered to each man a gratuity of about 3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*, in order to win them to his interests; but, far from receiving this offer with thankfulness, the troops murmured at it and ridiculed it, as utterly inadequate to their expectations; and many of the centurions and soldiers appeared inclined to disown his authority altogether. Alarmed at these symptoms, he sent for several of those centurions whom he most suspected to his own quarters, and there caused them to be instantly executed. But this severity failed to effect its object; the legions could not be prevailed upon to follow him; and at the same time the tidings which he received of the proceedings of Octavius, made him feel the necessity of returning to Rome without delay. In fact, no sooner had he set out for Brundisium, than Octavius hastened into Campania, and by giving to each man a donation of about 16*l.* [86], he prevailed upon Cæsar's veterans, who had been settled at Casilinum and Calatia, to join his standard. He then applied to some other of the military colonies in that neighbourhood, and succeeded in raising

He persuades Cæsar's veterans to join him.

[85] Dion Cassius, XLV. 276. Cicero, Philippic. III. 2; V. 8.

[86] Cicero, ad Atticum, XVI. epist. VIII. IX.

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a considerable force, which he began to organize at Capua with the greatest activity. The municipal towns[87], no less than the establishments of the veterans, testified the strongest attachment to his cause; and he wrote at the same time to Cicero, requesting a personal interview with him, asking his advice as to his subsequent movements, and wishing him to come forward as his avowed associate, and to exert his influence in the senate in his behalf.

Cicero could not but entertain a natural distrust of so dangerous an assistant; and expressed, in a letter to Atticus[88], his unavailing wishes that Brutus were at hand instead of Octavius to turn the impending crisis to the advantage of the Commonwealth. But Brutus and Cassius were already on the other side of the Ionian Gulf; and to wait for their return was impossible. In an evil hour, therefore, for himself, did Cicero listen to the advances of Octavius, and encourage him to repair to Rome, and endeavour to strengthen his party by the favour of the popular assembly. Octavius adopted this plan, and was introduced into the forum, and brought forward to speak, by the tribune Tiberius Canutius[89], one of the most violent enemies of Antonius. But his speech was ill calculated to please the aristocratical party; for he attempted, we are told, to recommend himself to the popular favour as the heir and adopted

[87] Cicero, ad Atticum, XVI. epist. XI.

[88] Cicero, ad Atticum, XVI. epist. VIII. "O Brute, ubi es? quantam εὐκαιρίαν amittis!"

[89] Dion Cassius, XLV. 276. Appian, de Bello Civili, III. 41.

son of Cæsar; he dwelt largely on the great services of the late dictator; and when making some promises with regard to his own future conduct, he stretched out his hand toward a statue of Cæsar, which Antonius had lately placed in the rostra[90], and swore that he would be true to his word, "as he hoped to arrive at his father's greatness." But not feeling himself strong enough as yet to maintain the capital against Antonius, and finding, if we may believe Appian, that the veterans were not well disposed to fight in such a quarrel, he withdrew into Tuscany with his forces, and endeavoured to get some assistance from that quarter.

In the meantime, Antonius was returning with all speed to Rome, attended by the legion of the Alaudæ[91], a corps which had been raised by Cæsar in Transalpine Gaul, and had afterwards, as we have seen, been admitted by him to the rights of Roman citizens. Since his death this legion had been greatly favoured by Antonius, and its common soldiers had been rendered capable, by his law, of serving amongst the third order of judges on criminal trials. He had, therefore, apparently taken it with him to Brundisium, and was now returning with it to Rome; for the four legions which he had gone to secure, had not received him so cordially as to induce him to rely on them in any critical service;

[90] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. III. ad Atticum, XVI. epist. XV. Jurat., "ita sibi parentis honores consequi liceat;" et simul dextram intendit ad statuam.

[91] Cicero, ad Atticum, XVI. epist. VIII.

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and he was well satisfied that they should consent to march by themselves towards Gaul, there, as he hoped, to receive him as their commander, when he should arrive to take possession of that province. The Alaudæ then formed his escort when he approached Rome, and were left by him at Tibur, while he entered the city with no other force apparently than that which he had been long in the habit of employing to support his authority or secure his person. He then, as consul, issued a number of proclamations [92], charging Octavius with rebellion, and threatening the severest punishments against some other individuals whom he considered as his abettors. He summoned the senate to meet on the twenty-fourth of November, and announced that, if any member absented himself, he would be justly considered as a conspirator against the consul's life, and a party to the treasonable counsels of Octavius. But he soon learned that one of the legions from Brundisium [93], instead of pursuing its march towards Gaul, had suddenly turned off towards the capital, and had actually stationed itself at Alba in a state of open disobedience to his authority. He then repaired to the troops whom he had left at Tibur, and tried, we may suppose, to assure himself of their fidelity, by promising to them abundant rewards out of the property of his antagonists.

Two of the legions desert Antonius and join Octavius.

Again he returned to Rome, feeling it important,

[92] Cicero, Philippic. III. 7, 8.
[93] Cicero, Philippic. III. 3; XIII. 9.

if possible, still to maintain possession of the capital; and not choosing, whatever was his reason, to attend in the senate on the twenty-fourth, he postponed the meeting of that body to the twenty-eighth [94], and summoned the senators then to assemble in the capitol. He was extremely anxious to fortify himself by their authority, and to obtain a vote which should declare Octavius and his abettors public enemies. For this purpose he prohibited three individuals by name [95], all of them his vehement opponents, from appearing in the senate on this occasion; threatening one of them with death, according to Cicero, if he ventured to disobey his injunction. But just before the senate assembled, he was informed that the fourth legion [96], another of those which he had met at Brundisium, had not only stopped its march towards Gaul, but had actually joined the standard of Octavius in Tuscany. Under the impression produced on men's minds by this intelligence, he dared not submit to the senate his intended motion on the state of the Commonwealth, lest the decision of the majority might rather favour his enemies than himself. His only hope lay in the success of his arms, and in stopping, by his presence, the growing spirit of disaffection among the soldiers. Accordingly, the senate was only consulted on the question of voting the usual thanksgivings to the gods in honour of M. Lepidus for his services in Spain; and as soon as the senators separated, Anto-

[94] Cicero, Philippic. III. 8.
[95] Cicero, Philippic. III. 9.
[95] Cicero, Philippic. III. 3. 9.

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nius proceeded to the customary allotment of the provinces to the different magistrates of the year on the expiration of their term of office. His brother, C. Antonius, received his nomination to the province of Macedonia, which had been already, as we have seen, conferred on him by the people; and he himself, in the same manner, entered upon his own appointment to the command of Cisalpine Gaul.

Antonius retires from Rome to Cisalpine Gaul.

He immediately assumed the military dress, and left the city with the utmost secresy to take the command of his troops at Tibur [97]; whence he hastened, by cross roads, towards his province, fearing lest Octavius might intercept his march.

On his arrival at Ariminum, he found there the two remaining legions from Brundisium, which acknowledged his authority without dispute; and with them a third, according to Appian [98], which had returned from Macedonia after Antonius's departure from Brundisium, and, choosing to embrace his party, had followed the other two which still adhered to him into Gaul. These forces, together with the legion of the Alaudæ, and a considerable number of the veterans from Cæsar's colonies, who preferred his service to that of Octavius, formed altogether an imposing army; and there was nothing in Cisalpine Gaul which could offer to them any resistance in the field.

He is opposed by Dec. Brutus, who he besieges in Mutina.

But Decimus Brutus, who, as we have seen, had held the command of that province for some months, was resolved not lightly to abandon it; and,

[97] Cicero, Philippic. III. 10. [98] De Bello Civili, III. 43. 48.

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accordingly, threw himself into the town of Mutina[99], to maintain that place against the invader. Antonius immediately advanced and began to lay siege to it; and thus the Commonwealth was again involved in a civil war, when little more than a year had elapsed since the termination of hostilities in Spain, and the last triumphant return of Cæsar to Rome.

When Antonius left the capital to take possession of Cisalpine Gaul, his colleague, P. Dolabella, seems to have been already on his way towards Syria. We find that he was at his villa, near Formiæ, in the latter end of October[100], and that he was then making some arrangements for the payment of a debt due from him to Cicero, while he should be absent from Italy.

Hence he probably crossed over into Greece soon afterwards, accompanied by a small military force; so that Rome, in the beginning of December, was deserted by both the consuls, while of the tribunes, two at least, Tiberius Canutius and L. Cassius, were warmly devoted to the party of the aristocracy. The senate and people of Rome seem now, for the first time during many years, to have been left to express their sentiments freely; the terror of a military force was removed on the one hand, nor does the peace of the city seem to have been disturbed by any disorders of the populace on the other. The measures of the government, therefore, and the votes

[99] Cicero, Philippic. XIII. 9.
[100] Cicero, ad Atticum, XV. epist. XIII.

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of individuals were likely now, if ever, to be independent, and wise, and pure, debased only by that inevitable alloy which the actions and principles of men will always contract from the original folly and selfishness of human nature. But the influence of eloquence is a less unworthy motive than the fear of the sword; and it was a fit reward for the general purity of Cicero's character, that his ascendancy marked the last moments of his country's freedom; and that, when Rome was left to herself, she followed his guidance with enthusiastic affection. Immediately on the departure of Antonius, he hastened to return to the capital, where he arrived on the ninth of December [101]. The tribunes had summoned the senate to meet on the twentieth, that a vote might be passed empowering the consuls elect, Hirtius and Pansa, to provide for the assembling the senate in safety on the first of January. A very few days before the twentieth, there appeared a proclamation from Decimus Brutus, in which he engaged to maintain the province of Cisalpine Gaul against the attempts of Antonius, and to preserve it in a state of obedience to the authority of the senate and people. This declaration was likely to encourage the timid and the wavering; and that the impression produced by it might not be lost, Cicero went very early to the senate on the morning of the twentieth, and having thus awakened an interest in men's minds, and procured a full attendance of

Cicero returns to Rome.

[101] Cicero, ad Familiares, XI. epist. V. VI. Philippic. III. 4, 5.

senators, he delivered the speech which is entitled the third philippic. In this he proposed that the senate should declare its approbation of the conduct of Decimus Brutus, and of the province of Cisalpine Gaul, in upholding the senate's authority; that it should also express its gratitude to Octavius, and to the two legions which had deserted Antonius; and that it should order Decimus Brutus, and all other officers who held commands in the provinces by virtue of Cæsar's arrangements, to retain their governments till the senate should think proper to supersede them. The senate agreed to all that Cicero wished [102]; and thus not only was M. Antonius adjudged to have no pretensions to the province of Gaul, but the claims of his brother upon Macedonia, and of P. Dolabella upon Syria, were condemned on the same ground. Meanwhile the siege of Mutina was carried on with vigour by Antonius, and Octavius having intercepted some cavalry, archers, and elephants [103], which were on their way to join the besieging army, was proceeding to attempt the relief of the town, as soon as he should be strengthened by the arrival of the consuls with fresh troops from Rome. Such was the state of things when the first of January arrived, and the new consuls, A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, entered upon their office. They assembled the senators on the very first day of their consulship; first to consult them generally on the Commonwealth, and then to determine on the honours which were to be

U.C. 710.

[102] Cicero, Philippic. IV. 1, et seq. Dion Cassius, XLV. 277.

[103] Cicero, Philippic. V. 17. Dion Cassius, XLV. 276.

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Q. Fufius Calenus defends Antonius in the senate.

paid to C. Octavius and to his followers, according to the resolution passed before at the meeting of the twentieth of December.

It was not to be expected, composed as the senate was in a considerable proportion of the partisans of Cæsar, that Antonius should be left altogether without an advocate. The person who first came forward in his behalf was Q. Fufius Calenus, who had been made consul by Cæsar during the last three or four months of the year 706, and had before commanded a separate division of his army in the campaign of the preceding year in Greece. At an earlier period, in the year 692, he had been one of the tribunes; and it was owing to a law proposed by him [104], and directing that the judges should be chosen by lot instead of selected by the prætor, that P. Clodius obtained an acquittal, when tried for his infamous profanation of the mysteries of the Bona Dea in Cæsar's house. He now moved that a deputation from the senate should be sent to Antonius, to demand of him that he should raise the siege of Mutina [105]; that he should abstain from all acts of hostility against Decimus Brutus and the province of Cisalpine Gaul; and that he should submit himself to the authority of the senate and people. If he refused to comply with these demands, he was to be declared a public enemy, and the whole population of the state was to assume the military dress, as in a war of the last importance to the general safety. It was not supposed

[104] Cicero, ad Atticum, I. epist. XVI.

[105] Cicero, Philippic. VI. 2, 3.

that Antonius would accede to the terms offered him; and as he would gain time to prosecute the siege of Mutina, and to strengthen his party whilst the deputation should be going to his camp from Rome and returning with his answer, Cicero, well aware of the necessity of decisive measures, was anxious, on this very account, that he should be declared a public enemy immediately, and that the people should be summoned at once to take up arms against him. After a vehement debate, however, which was protracted by successive adjournments during three days, the proposal of Q. Calenus prevailed, and it was resolved that a deputation should be sent to Antonius[106]. On other points, the opinion of Cicero was followed; settlements of land were promised to the veterans and to the two legions which had joined Octavius[107]; and an exemption from military service was granted to them and to their children, except in the case of a war breaking out in Gaul or in Italy. L. Egnatuleius, the quæstor who had led the fourth legion over to Octavius, was allowed to be a candidate for and to hold any public office three years before he should have attained the age prescribed by law. To Octavius still higher honours were paid. He was constituted an officer of the Commonwealth, with the title and authority of proprætor; he was admitted into the senate among the senators of prætorian rank; he was allowed to be a candidate for all public offices several

[106] Cicero, Philippic. VI. 1.

[107] Cicero, Philippic. V. 17. 19.

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years earlier than the law permitted; and on the motion of his step-father, L. Philippus[108], an equestrian statue was erected to his honour in the rostra.

A deputation sent from the senate to Antonius with proposals of peace.

Immediately after this debate, the deputation, which was to carry the commands of the senate to Antonius, set out on its journey. It consisted of three members: Servius Sulpicius, the celebrated lawyer, whom Cæsar had appointed proconsul of Achaia in the year 707; L. Philippus, the step-father of Octavius; and L. Calpurnius Piso, the father-in-law of Cæsar, who had formerly, when consul, countenanced the attacks of Clodius upon Cicero, in order to win the favour of the triumvirate. About the same time, A. Hirtius took the field and marched to the relief of Mutina[109]; while his colleague, C. Pansa, remained at Rome to superintend the levies of troops which were carrying on with the greatest activity. Cicero meanwhile was exerting himself to the utmost to strengthen the cause of the Commonwealth by securing the fidelity of the different commanders in the western provinces. If Antonius were obliged to retreat from before Mutina, it was a question of the last importance to him, to ascertain whether he could hope to find an asylum and support in the armies of Spain and of Transalpine Gaul.

Account of the officers commanding in Gaul and Spain.

There were three officers who held commands at this time in those countries; M. Æmilius Lepidus, the proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis, and of the Hither or Nearer Spain; L. Munatius Plancus, who

[108] Cicero, ad Brutum, I. epist. XV. Velleius Paterculus, II. 61.

[109] Cicero, Philippic. VII. 4.

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enjoyed the government of all the other parts of Transalpine Gaul added by Cæsar's conquests to the Roman empire; and C. Asinius Pollio, who had been employed in the Farther Spain against Sex. Pompeius with the title of Cæsar's lieutenant, and still possessed the chief authority in that province. Of these three men, Lepidus was likely to join that party which could most work upon his hopes of personal advantage; but his inclinations would lead him to oppose the cause of the Commonwealth, inasmuch as the forms of the old constitution would confine within moderate bounds his irregular ambition. L. Munatius Plancus is mentioned as one of those persons who received large presents from Cæsar, at the time when he was employing the plunder of Gaul in purchasing partisans amongst the needy and the prodigal at Rome[110]. When the civil war began, we find that L. Plancus was in Cæsar's service, and held a command in his army in Spain during the campaign against Afranius and Petreius[111]. At a later period he was one of his lieutenants in Africa[112]; and, on the whole, his conduct throughout the war obtained for him from Cæsar the appointment to the province of Transalpine Gaul, and the nomination to the consulship for the year 711, together with Decimus Brutus, so that he was at this time consul elect. His reputation however had not kept pace with his

M. Æmilius Lepidus.

L. Munatius Plancus.

[110] Cicero, ad Familiares, VIII. epist. I.

[111] Cæsar, de Bello Civili, I. and Auctor de Bello Africano.

[112] Cæsar, de Bello Civili, I. and Auctor de Bello Africano.

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fortune. Cicero tells him plainly, in one of his letters [113], that he had been generally regarded as a time-server; and Paterculus speaks of him as "behaving with that wavering honour which was characteristic of him [114]." But as he was at the head of an important province and a considerable army, Cicero tried to attach him to the cause of the Commonwealth, and wrote to him a number of letters to this effect, which he answered with the fairest professions of his zeal in behalf of his country, but without declaring his sentiments with regard to Antonius. C. Asinius Pollio, whose name reminds us that we are arrived at the age of Virgil and Horace, was early distinguished as an orator [115], and at the beginning of the civil war espoused the party of Cæsar, because, according to his own account [116], the power of some one of his personal enemies in the camp of Pompey made him afraid to join the standard of the Commonwealth. He served Cæsar faithfully, and was left by him, as we have seen, in the command of the province of Farther Spain, after the defeat of Cnæus Pompeius at Munda. He had since been opposed to Sex. Pompeius, and had been defeated by him, as we have already mentioned. Yet he professed a great zeal for the liberties of his country, and a determination to resist any person whatsoever

C. Asinius Pollio.

[113] Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. III.

[114] II. 63. Plancus, dubiâ, id est, suâ Fide.

[115] Quintilian, XII. 6.

[116] Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. XXXI.

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who should again attempt to gain absolute sovereignty [117]. He was at the head of an army of three legions [118]; and Antonius had endeavoured already to seduce one of these to his own service, nor had Pollio been able to retain it in its duty without difficulty. In fact, the dispositions of the soldiers in general were so adverse to the establishment of the old constitution, that when they understood the quarrel to be between Antonius and the cause of the senate and the people, they could not be prevailed upon to support the latter; and it was this circumstance that ensured the success of Octavius, when a few months afterwards he revealed his own treasonable intentions, and enslaved the senate whose authority he was now affecting to uphold.

Antonius rejects the proposals of the senate.

Meantime the deputation from the senate had proceeded to the camp of M. Antonius. Ere its members had reached the end of their journey [119], Ser. Sulpicius, the most distinguished of their number, died of an indisposition which had attacked him before he left Rome, and which had been aggravated by the fatigue of travelling, and by the anxiety which he felt for the success of his mission. His surviving colleagues, L. Philippus and L. Piso, were too nearly connected with the family of Cæsar to be very zealous in the cause of the Commonwealth. They presented the commands of the senate to Antonius,

[117] Si id agitur ut rursus in Potestate omnia unius sint, quicunque is est, ei me profiteor Inimicum.—Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. XXXI.

[118] Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. XXXII.

[119] Cicero, Philippic. IX. 7.

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and consented to carry back to Rome a counter-proposal on his part [120], in which, far from complying with the orders which he had received, he agreed to give up Cisalpine Gaul only on condition of receiving in exchange the province of Transalpine Gaul for five years [121], with an army of six legions, and that his brother should retain Macedonia as long as Brutus and Cassius should enjoy the command of any provinces as consuls or proconsuls. Besides these concessions, he demanded grants of lands for the soldiers who had followed him, a confirmation of all grants already made by himself and Dolabella, and of all the decrees issued by them on the pretended authority of Cæsar's papers; and that his law relating to the judicial power should be maintained inviolate. When these proposals were reported to the senate, L. Cæsar [122], the uncle of Antonius, moved that the country should be declared in a state of disturbance; and the whole people assumed the military dress, in token of the imminent danger which threatened the Commonwealth. The spirit

[120] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. IV.

[121] Cicero, Philippic. VIII. 9. The text towards the latter end of the ninth chapter of the eighth Philippic is evidently defective. One sentence relative to C. Antonius is marked by Schütz as inserted in this place by mistake; but it seems to us that some words have rather been omitted in the preceding sentence, and that the clause, "tamdiuque ut obtineat, quamdiu M. Brutus, C. Cassius, Consules, prove Coss. Provincias obtinebunt," refers to C. Antonius, and not, as Schütz imagines, to Marcus. M. Antonius throughout speaks of himself in the first person, and immediately after the stipulation in behalf of his brother, which we have just quoted, he adds, "Ipse autem ut quinquennium obtineam."

[122] Cicero, Philippic. VIII. 1.

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of all ranks, if we may believe Cicero [123], was keenly alive to the necessity of putting down the rebellion of Antonius; with the exception only of those citizens who were of consular dignity, whom age or the honours and emoluments which they had gained in the last revolution, made unwilling to risk the chances of another. Besides, many of these persons had been so connected with the party of Cæsar, that the revival of the old aristocratical interest, supported by the eloquence and integrity of Cicero, was to them a prospect full of apprehension. They served the cause of Antonius at present, by professing an extreme anxiety for peace; but they hoped to espouse it more effectually, and to introduce divisions amongst the opposite party, so soon as they could find a handle to insinuate that whilst Cæsar's friends were quarrelling with one another, the partisans of Pompey were watching for the moment in which they might once more establish their own ascendancy.

Proceedings of Brutus and Cassius.

Nor was the opportunity which they sought for backward in presenting itself. Brutus and Cassius had left Italy in the preceding autumn, with the intention, we may suppose, of strengthening themselves against the enmity of Antonius by the resources of the eastern provinces. The opposition begun by Cicero in the senate on the second of September, and the subsequent state of terror under which the senate was said to be kept by the military force of Antonius, induced them, or furnished them with a pre-

[123] Compare, besides his assertions in his Philippics, Epist. ad Familiares, XII. epist. IV. V.; XI. epist. VIII.; X. epist. V.

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text, to act in a more decisive manner. Brutus at first had repaired to Athens [124], and had remained there for some time, apparently engrossed with the philosophical studies of the place; but during this interval his emissaries had been at work in Macedonia, endeavouring to conciliate to his interest the soldiers that were still quartered there; and he was himself gaining partisans among that numerous body of young men of family or talent who were in the habit of resorting to Athens as the university of the ancient world. He was, however, principally enabled to declare himself openly in consequence of an important service rendered him by M. Apuleius [125], who had for some time past filled the office of quæstor in the province of Asia. Apuleius happened to be returning to Rome with a fleet, on board of which was a large sum of money belonging to the government, collected by him in his province for the benefit of the revenue of the Commonwealth. Brutus met him on the coast of Eubœa, and prevailed upon him to make over the whole of this treasure. He was thus in a condition immediately to raise an army, partly by inviting to his standard those soldiers who had formerly served under Pompey [126], and who it seems were still numerous in Thessaly; and partly by tampering with the troops belonging to P. Dolabella, which were at this time

[124] Plutarch, in Bruto, 24.

[125] Cicero, Philippic. X. 11; XIII. 16. Plutarch, in Bruto, 24. Appian, de Bello Civili, IV. 75. Cicero, ad Familiares, XIII. epist. XLV.

[126] Plutarch, in Bruto, 25.

passing through Greece on their way towards Syria. It is particularly mentioned, that two divisions of Dolabella's cavalry were thus persuaded to desert their officers and join Brutus[127]; and the same means were probably used with effect towards a legion commanded by one of the lieutenants of C. Antonius, which submitted itself to M. Cicero, Cicero's son, one of those young men whom Brutus had won to his interests during his residence at Athens. Soon afterwards, Q. Hortensius, the son of the famous orator of that name, who was at this time proconsul of Macedonia, put the whole resources of his province at the disposal of Brutus; and he was thus become so formidable, that P. Vatinius, proconsul of Illyricum, and one of Cæsar's oldest and most zealous partisans, finding himself unable to depend upon his soldiers, surrendered to him the important town of Dyrrhachium, and saw his troops immediately enter into the service of his enemy. In this manner Brutus made himself master of the provinces of Achaia, Macedonia, and Illyricum, and was become the general of an army of seven legions[128]; while C. Antonius, who had set out from Italy in the hope of entering upon the government of Macedonia, found that province now armed against him, and the troops which he expected to command adding themselves to the forces of his enemy. Thus disappointed, he threw himself into Apollonia with seven cohorts which still remained

Brutus obtains possession of the provinces of Achaia, Macedonia, and Illyricum.

[127] Cicero, Philippic. X. 6. [128] Velleius Paterculus, II. 65. Plutarch, in Bruto, 25.

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Dolabella surprises and plunders the province of Asia, and murders C. Trebonius.

faithful to him [129]; and being master of that city, and of one or two other places in the neighbourhood, he prepared to resist the attacks of Brutus.

It is difficult, while relying upon Cicero's authority for almost the whole of our accounts of these times, not to forget that this authority is not equally to be followed in its judgments of men and actions as in its reports of matters of fact. We catch insensibly the opinions of a writer whom we are continually consulting; and we do not remember that during all the transactions which we are now relating, he was the active leader of a party, and could not, therefore, represent with impartiality the motives or the merits of the conduct of his opponents. This remark must apply particularly to those proceedings of Dolabella, which we are now called to notice. He found that the assassins of Cæsar were resolved to consider as illegal all the acts of his colleague M. Antonius and of himself in their late consulship. Decimus Brutus was maintaining Cisalpine Gaul against M. Antonius, in defiance of the decree of the people; M. Brutus was occupying Macedonia, which had been equally given by the people to C. Antonius; and C. Cassius was proceeding towards Syria to take away that province in a similar manner from Dolabella himself. Already, as we have seen, Dolabella's cavalry had been seduced from his service, and had joined the army of Brutus; so that under these circumstances, whilst his enemies, by

[129] Cicero, Philippic. X. 6; XI. 11.

their own sole authority, were converting to their own use the resources of the empire, he might think himself justified in following their example, and in depriving their officers of their provinces, as he himself and his friends had been deprived of those held by themselves. With this view he formed the design of securing the province of Asia, which was now held by C. Trebonius. But in the execution of this purpose he is charged with acts of the greatest perfidy and cruelty; he is said to have entered the province of C. Trebonius as if he were merely passing through it on his way to Syria[130]: he had an interview with Trebonius, in which he professed the most friendly dispositions towards him; and having thus lulled him into a fatal security, he made a sudden assault by night upon the city of Smyrna, in which Trebonius then was, and thus obtained possession of his person. Trebonius thus treacherously seized, was immediately put to the torture to draw from him some information as to the treasure of the province; and after he had suffered these cruelties for two days, he was beheaded with circumstances of additional barbarity; his head was carried about on the point of a spear, and his body was exposed to the insults of Dolabella's soldiers, and finally cast into the sea. After this murder, Dolabella enriched himself by seizing some of the public money in the province, and by the plunder of a great number of individuals[131]; but not having a sufficient force to

[130] Cicero, Philippic. XI. 2, 3. Livy, Epitome, CXIX.

[131] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. XV.

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enable him at once to maintain Asia, and to prosecute his march towards Syria, he abandoned the prize which he had gained, and continued his progress towards the east. But receiving alarming accounts of the force under C. Cassius, and thinking it probable that Syria would be effectually barred against him, he prepared a large fleet of transports in the ports of Lycia, on board of which he intended, in case of need, to embark his troops and his treasures, and return to join Antonius in Italy. This scheme was defeated by the activity of P. Lentulus Spinther, the son of that Lentulus who had been consul in the year 696, and to whom Cicero was largely indebted for his recall from banishment. The younger P. Lentulus had been quæstor under Trebonius in Asia, and had first retired into Macedonia after the murder of the proconsul[132]; but finding that Dolabella did not retain possession of Asia, he returned thither, and having re-organized the administration of that province, he hastened to Rhodes with the fleet under his command, in order to procure assistance from the government of that island to enable him to attack the fleet of Dolabella in Lycia. The Rhodians, however, had suffered too severely under the dominion of the old aristocracy at Rome to be inclined to support its defenders. They had refused to receive Pompey himself within their walls, when he was a fugitive after the battle of Pharsalia; and a squadron of their ships had

[132] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. XIV. XV.

joined Cæsar at that period, and had distinguished itself most highly in his service during the contest in which he was involved in Egypt. But P. Lentulus, even without their aid, was strong enough to effect his purpose; the ships of war belonging to Dolabella fled from Lycia, and either dispersed and abandoned his cause, or retreated to Cyprus and Syria, while the transports thus left to themselves were immediately secured by Lentulus. Dolabella arriving in Syria with a force which was probably not very considerable, found the gates of Antioch closed against him [133], and having in vain endeavoured to force an entrance, he fled in disorder to Laodicea. In this distressed state of his fortunes, his soldiers began to desert him, and he soon found himself besieged by C. Cassius, who had gained full possession of the province of Syria, and now commanded an army of ten legions. Laodicea was blockaded by land and sea, till Dolabella, hopeless of relief, and dreading the fate which he had inflicted on Trebonius, ended his life by suicide [134]. This event took place in the summer of 710, and the tidings of it reached the capital, and cheered the aristocratical party with a moment's exultation immediately before their complete and final overthrow.

Dolabella is shut out from Syria by Cassius.

He is besieged in Laodicea, and kills himself.

The army with which Cassius had obtained this great success, had been collected by him from various quarters, since his first departure from Italy in the

Account of the proceedings of Cassius in Syria.

[133] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. XIII. XIV. XV.

[134] Velleius Paterculus, II. 69. Livy, Epitome, 121.

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autumn of the preceding year. He had first visited Trebonius in the province of Asia [135], and was liberally supplied with money by his quæstor, P. Lentulus, who also claimed the merit of winning over to his interest a large body of cavalry forming part of Dolabella's army, and which had been sent on by him from Macedonia, to precede his march into Syria. Some forces were also raised in the province itself; and Cassius, thus provided with men and money, did not hesitate to proceed to Syria without delay, while Dolabella was still lingering in Europe. He reached Syria in the depth of the winter, perhaps about the end of January or beginning of February, when the ascendancy of the aristocratical party in Rome, and the measures taken against Antonius, were already known in the east. There was at this time in Syria an army, according to Appian, of six legions [136], under the command of L. Statius Murcus, and Q. Marcius Crispus, which had been committed to them by Cæsar for the purpose of reducing Q. Cæcilius Bassus, and the legion with which he maintained himself in Apamea. Both of these officers had served under Cæsar in the civil war, but they were men of little ambition, and were disposed to obey any authority which might seem entitled to command them. Accordingly, they gave up their legions to Cassius without hesitation [137], believing that by so doing, they should most consult the wishes

[135] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. XIV. Dion Cassius, XLVII. 342.

[136] De Bello Civili, IV. 58.

[137] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. XI. XII.

of the government at Rome; and this example was presently followed by the legion under Q. Bassus; for although that officer himself was sufficiently desirous of retaining his command, yet his soldiers looked upon Cassius as so much more respectable a leader, that he was unable to prevent them from making him an offer of their services. Soon afterwards, A. Allienus, who had been employed by Dolabella to lead from Egypt four legions which had been mostly left there by Cæsar to secure the throne of Cleopatra, meeting Cassius in Syria, and being neither willing nor able to resist him, surrendered to him the whole force which he commanded. With regard to foreign states, it may be mentioned that the inhabitants of Syria in general[138], and particularly the people of Tyre, as also Cæsar's old enemy, Deiotarus, king of Galatia, were inclined to support Cassius; while on the other hand, Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, the Rhodians, the Lycians, the people of Tarsus[139], and the Jews, were the enemies of the old aristocracy, and devoted to any one who should profess himself the representative of the party of Cæsar. The Jews, however, being placed in the midst of the forces of Cassius, were soon obliged to submit to him; and he proceeded soon afterwards to attack the Rhodians, whose eminence as a naval power made their opposition more formidable.

Vote of the senate in favour of Brutus.

We have thus carried on our narrative of the state of affairs in the east to a period some months later

[138] Cicero, Philippic. XI. 13, 14. epist. XIII. Dion Cassius, XLVII.
[139] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. 343.

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than that at which we had arrived, in describing the course of events at Rome and in Italy. When M. Brutus had made himself master of Macedonia and Achaia, he sent despatches to the senate containing an account of his successes [140]. After they had been read, Q. Fufius Calenus proposed that they should be acknowledged by an answer of mere compliment, and that Brutus at the same time should be ordered to give up the legions, the command of which he had gained so irregularly. But Cicero, rejoicing to see a powerful army in the hands of a general on whom he could so fully rely, moved on the contrary, "that the senate highly approved of the conduct of Brutus, and that it confirmed to him in the fullest manner the possession of the armies and provinces which he had acquired, requesting him at the same time to remain with his forces as much as possible in the neighbourhood of Italy, that he might be ready to lend his assistance to the Commonwealth if necessary." This motion, it appears, was carried, and excited probably no small jealousy amongst the partisans of Cæsar. Soon afterwards, tidings arrived of the murder of Trebonius, and the seizure of the province of Asia by Dolabella. The cruelty which had accompanied this action excited a general feeling of indignation. Q. Calenus [141], with a frankness highly creditable to him, being first asked his opinion by his son-in-law, C. Pansa, moved that Dolabella should be declared a public enemy, and that his

Dolabella declared a public enemy by the senate.

[140] Cicero, Philippic. X. passim. [141] Cicero, Philippic. XI. 6.

property should be confiscated; adding, that if any senator should propose a decree of greater severity, he would gladly assent to it. But the unanimity which had been thus happily produced by the cruelty of Dolabella was soon disturbed. It was next to be considered to whom the Commonwealth should intrust the duty of revenging the death of Trebonius, and prosecuting the war against Dolabella. L. Cæsar [142], who had been consul twenty-one years before, in the year preceding the conspiracy of Catiline, the uncle of M. Antonius, but who had always firmly and honestly opposed his ambitious and violent measures, proposed that P. Servilius Isauricus should be the person selected. Servilius had been Cæsar's colleague in the consulship in the year 705; but even then he had supported the aristocratical interest with vigour against the mischievous laws of M. Cælius. He had since been himself proconsul of Asia, and had borne the character of a moderate and humane magistrate [143], so that his appointment seems to have been most unexceptionable, and was likely to have answered Cicero's purposes sufficiently in putting down Dolabella, without giving offence to the partisans of Cæsar. Another proposal advised that the war should be committed to the two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, who were to be appointed to the command of the two provinces of Asia and Syria. By this method it was artfully intended to allure the two consuls from Italy by the prospect of

[142] Cicero, Philippic. XI. 8; Epist. ad Familiares, XII. epist. V.

[143] Cicero, ad Familiares, XIII. epist. LXVI. LXVIII.

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an honourable command in the most lucrative stations in the empire; to leave Octavius by their departure at the head of the troops opposed to Antonius, and above all to stop the progress of Cassius, who was suspected of seizing Syria by his own authority. Nothing seemed so likely to disappoint this scheme as the proposal of L. Cæsar, which, if supported by the aristocratical party, would probably have been carried. But Cicero most injudiciously opposed the nomination of Servilius, as well as that of the consuls, and moved "that the war with Dolabella, together with the province of Syria, and all the troops in that part of the empire, should be intrusted to C. Cassius; that for the prosecution of the war he should be invested with an absolute controul over the fleets and revenues of the east; that his command should extend to the provinces of Asia, Pontus, and Bithynia, as well as to Syria; and that into whatsoever province he should enter in the course of his hostilities against Dolabella, his authority in that province should immediately supersede that of the regular officers of the Commonwealth." Even the very mother and brother of Cassius [144], who were at that time in Rome, remonstrated with Cicero upon the gross impolicy of such a proposal. When Brutus had so lately been confirmed in the command of three provinces, and an army of seven legions, how was it to be expected that even moderate men, and much less that the partisans of Cæsar,

[141] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. VII.

should consent to invest another of the conspirators with powers and resources still more ample? The only effect of Cicero's motion was to render him an object of increased suspicion to all the friends of Cæsar's government, and to procure the triumph of that party who wished to give the command of the war with Dolabella to the consuls Hirtius and Pansa. It is true that they did not live long enough to avail themselves of the vote of the senate in their favour; and Cassius, as we have seen, soon afterwards destroyed Dolabella by his own authority. But Cicero, by thus showing himself so intemperate a partisan of the assassins of Cæsar, and of those two in particular who had even during the civil war been among the adherents of Pompey, gave a general disgust to that numerous portion of the Commonwealth who wished to see Cæsar's system and measures preserved under certain limitations, and who dreaded and abhorred the exclusive dominion of the high aristocratical party.

The war against Dolabella intrusted to the two consuls.

The proceedings of Antonius, however, during his consulship, had been so violent, that the majority of the senate were disposed to pass the strongest decrees against him individually, however unwilling they might be to concur in the excessive powers and honours proposed by Cicero for the assassins of Cæsar. It was resolved that the laws passed by Antonius were not binding [145]; that he had forged decrees of the senate; and that he had corruptly

Vote of the senate against Antonius.

[145] Cicero, Philippic. XII. 5.

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appropriated to himself above five millions sterling of the public money. By these resolutions the senate seemed to declare that their quarrel with him was perpetual; and although they were so far moved by L. Piso and Q. Calenus as to vote that another deputation should be sent to him, in the expectation that he would submit implicitly to their orders, yet when they found that this expectation was not likely to be realized, the measure was dropped altogether. Nay, when letters were received from M. Lepidus [146], urging them to put an end to the civil war, they voted according to the sentiments of P. Servilius, who moved, that peace with Antonius was prejudicial to the Commonwealth. It was about this time also, that is, the beginning of April, that M. Varisidius arrived at Rome [147], being the bearer of a letter addressed by L. Plancus to the senate. In this letter Plancus asserted that he had an army of five legions under his command; and that both himself, his soldiers, and the people of his province of Gaul, were entirely devoted to the interests of his country, and ready to undertake any service to which the Commonwealth might think proper to call them. There was an ambiguity in the terms "country" and "Commonwealth," of which Plancus possibly designed hereafter to avail himself; yet the tone of his letter was so promising, and his language in a private letter to Cicero was so strongly in favour of his attachment to the course now pursued by the senate,

[146] Cicero, Philippic. XIII. 4, et seq.

[147] Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. VIII. XII.

that Cicero thought proper to move for a grant of extraordinary honours to him, in recompense of his fidelity. This motion was opposed by P. Servilius; and when the majority of the senate agreed to it, P. Titius, one of the tribunes, interposed his negative at the request of Servilius, and thus stopped the decree. The debate was adjourned to the following day, the ninth of April, when Cicero spoke with great vehemence against Servilius and Titius; and at last, partly from the effect of his own eloquence, and partly owing to the impression produced by the arrival of despatches from P. Lentulus in Asia [148],

[148] Cicero, ad Brutum, II. epist. II. We are aware that the genuineness of the two books of "Epistles to Brutus" has been often questioned; and Schütz has classed them, together with five orations commonly ascribed to Cicero, among the works which he believes to be forgeries; and has published them in a separate volume. But judging from the arguments which he brings to prove their spuriousness, the genuineness of a work was never more unreasonably suspected. He says, that the letter which we have just quoted (II. epist. II.) must be a forgery, because it speaks of the arrival of tidings concerning Cassius on the 9th of April; whereas in another letter to Brutus, dated on the 5th of May, the writer says that nothing was known of the forces of Cassius. But on attending to the whole passages in both letters, the inconsistency vanishes. Despatches had reached Rome, on the 9th of April, from P. Lentulus, who had been quæstor to Trebonius, and who appears to have written them from the province of Asia. They contained a report of the information which he had received from Syria, of the occupation of that province by Cassius, and of the surrender of the legions under L. Marcus and Q. Crispus. It is not said that the despatches of Lentulus entered into any particulars; but they probably stated in general terms, as was natural, what he had heard of events which had occurred in a distant province. Nearly a month afterwards, Cicero informs Brutus that the senate had given him a discretionary power to act against Dolabella or not, as he should judge most expedient; and adds, as the reason why so much was thus left to his own judgment, that nothing was known about the army of Cassius; nothing, that is, as to its position, its operations, or even its means of taking the field. It was known that Cassius had an army and a province; but this

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containing an account of the progress of Cassius in Syria; the opinion of Cicero triumphed, the tribune withdrew his negative, and the vote of honours to L. Plancus was carried. But the subsequent conduct of Plancus seems to indicate that with regard to him, as well as to Octavius, Cicero either believed or pretended to believe their professions much too

knowledge was of no use towards deciding the question, whether he might require the aid of Brutus in destroying Dolabella or no; and therefore, as far as that point was concerned, it was equivalent to a "total ignorance about the army of Cassius."

We have quoted the "Epistles to Brutus" without hesitation; for we think that all the positive arguments of inconsistency with themselves or with other authorities, which Schütz has repeated from Tunstall, are founded on mistakes and misinterpretations of the passages attacked. Another class of arguments, if they deserve to be called so, is built on the pretended occurrence of unclassical or inelegant expressions in these letters; and sometimes a letter is condemned because "tota ejus compositio prorsus a Ciceronis elegantiâ abhorret." Schütz, Præfat. in tom. VIII. p. 3. Ciceron. Oper. It must be a very strong case indeed that could warrant us in pronouncing a work to be a forgery on account of fancied inelegancies in its style, or even of dissimilarity from the usual language of the writer. But in the present instance we see no such dissimilarity; and as for the inelegance of particular expressions, we do think that it is quite absurd to pretend to decide, in a dead language, what expressions might or might not have been used in the familiarity of a private letter.

The evidence in favour of the "Epistles to Brutus" is the same on which we believe the genuineness of any ancient writing; namely, that they have been transmitted down to us amongst the other works of Cicero, and profess to be his composition. If the arguments brought against them be of no weight, if there be, as we think there is not, no evidence to render them suspected, we may receive them as genuine on the external evidence of their having been always ascribed to Cicero, without inquiring whether they afford any positive internal evidence in their own favour. But we think that they possess also this mark of genuineness, and that they are such letters as no man was likely to have forged, from the brevity and uninteresting nature of many of the numbers; and from their real, but neither apparent nor designed, agreement with what we know from other really respectable authorities concerning the facts to which they allude.

readily; and by his lavish votes in their favour injured, in fact, the dignity of the Commonwealth, and gave to the contest the appearance of a personal quarrel with Antonius, rather than of a general opposition to the principle of usurped and illegal power and military tyranny.

Letter of Antonius to Hirtius and Octavius.

While the aristocratical party was thus triumphing in the fancied support of Plancus, Antonius was endeavouring to seduce the officers who were employed against him, A. Hirtius and C. Octavius. He addressed to them a letter [149], in which he represented the impolicy of their conduct in serving the purposes of the Pompeian party, and fighting against their old comrades and natural associates, in behalf of men by whom they were hated in reality as bitterly as he himself. And he spoke of Lepidus and Plancus as being united with him in all his designs, and approving his proceedings. This letter was transmitted by Hirtius to Cicero, and was by him read aloud in the senate. To Octavius, doubtless, it suggested nothing which he had not himself clearly perceived before. It was not, and could not be his real intention to exalt the cause of Pompey, or to see the assassins of his uncle in possession of the greatest power and dignity in the Commonwealth. Nor ought the enemies of Antonius to have neglected that part of his letter in which he boasted of the entire co-operation of Lepidus and Plancus. With regard to Lepidus, the whole course of his former

[149] Cicero, Philippic. XIII. 10, et seq.

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life, as well as his recent interference to procure peace for Antonius, rendered the assertion extremely probable; and if Lepidus deserted the cause of the Commonwealth, the fidelity of Plancus would be exposed to a very severe temptation. On the other hand, the consuls Hirtius and Pansa, the latter of whom had now taken the field with the army which he had been levying and organizing at Rome, possessed and deserved the entire confidence of the senate; and whilst the greatest part of the forces employed against Antonius was in their hands, Octavius must of necessity remain faithful, and the contest might be decided before Lepidus or Plancus should venture to throw aside the mask which they now thought it prudent to wear.

Battle of Mutina. U.C. 711.

Meantime the events of the campaign were becoming of the highest importance. In the month of February, Antonius, while closely besieging Decimus Brutus in Mutina, was in possession of the important places of Parma, Regium Lepidi or Reggio, and Bononia or Bologna. These three towns were all situated on the Æmilian way, at that time probably the only good line of communication by which it was possible to reach Mutina; and lying two to the westward and one to the eastward of the place that was besieged, the occupation of them by the besieging army rendered it difficult for Hirtius and Octavius to advance to its relief. The season, besides, was unfavourable, and C. Pansa was still busied in levying troops at Rome; so that Hirtius and Octavius remained quiet for some time; the

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former at Claterna [150], and the latter at Forum Cornelii, or Imola; both of which towns were situated on the Æmilian way, between Bononia and Ariminum. But as the spring came on, and Decimus Brutus began to suffer severely from the strictness of the blockade, Hirtius and Octavius deemed it necessary to act more vigorously. They advanced towards Mutina, and Antonius thought proper to abandon Bononia to them, so that they were enabled to approach very near to the lines of the besiegers; and in this situation they were endeavouring to open a communication with Decimus Brutus, and were waiting at the same time for the arrival of Pansa with his newly-raised legions from Rome. It was about the middle of April [151], when Hirtius was informed that Pansa was approaching at the head of four legions of newly-raised troops; and in order to favour his safe arrival, which Antonius would naturally endeavour to prevent, he despatched the prætorian cohorts of himself and Octavius, together with one of his legions, by night to join him, and strengthen him on his march. It happened that this was the Martian legion, which had first set the example of desertion from Antonius, and which was animated by the fiercest animosity against him. Antonius, not aware of the reinforcement which Pansa had thus received, marched with two of his veteran legions, and some of Cæsar's disbanded soldiers, whom he had assembled under his standard at

[150] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. V.

[151] Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. XXX.

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the beginning of the campaign, to intercept him on his way. But on the first appearance of his light troops and cavalry, the Martian legion, unable to restrain its impetuosity, advanced hastily forward, and followed by the two prætorian cohorts, engaged with the enemy before it could be supported by the newly-raised legions, which were at some distance in the rear. It was in consequence overpowered and defeated with severe loss [152]; Pansa, who had taken the command of it in person, after having vainly endeavoured to check its imprudent advance, was dangerously wounded, and carried off to Bononia; and Antonius following up his advantage, attempted to take the camp of the enemy. Here, however, he was repulsed by two of Pansa's newly-raised legions, and finding that he could do nothing further on that side, he commenced his retreat towards his own camp before Mutina. But Hirtius, who had received intelligence of Pansa's danger, had set out with two legions to his rescue, leaving Octavius to defend their camp; and although he could not arrive in time to prevent the defeat of the Martian legion, yet he fell in with Antonius when retreating towards Mutina after his victory, and assaulting his soldiers, fatigued as they were by their preceding exertions, he totally routed and dispersed them. Antonius reached his lines in safety at the head of his cavalry, a kind of force with which Hirtius was unprovided, and found that the troops whom he had

[152] Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. XXX.; Philippic. XIV. 9, 10. 14.

left there in the morning, had made an attack upon the enemy's camp during the absence of Hirtius, but had been repulsed with loss by the forces left with Octavius to guard it.

Defeat of Antonius. Death of the two consuls.

By this action the army of Antonius was greatly weakened, but as it yet retained its lines around Mutina, the relief of Decimus Brutus had not been effected by the success of his associates. Hirtius and Octavius, therefore, were anxious to bring Antonius to a second action; and this they accomplished by threatening to force their way into Mutina at a distant and ill-guarded quarter of his lines. Antonius was forced to fight in order to oppose this attempt; but he was again defeated with great loss; and Decimus Brutus making a sally at the same time with the garrison of Mutina, he had no other resource but to abandon all his positions, and fly with the wreck of his infantry, covered by his still unbroken cavalry, in the direction of the Alps[153]. Unfortunately for the cause of the aristocracy, Hirtius, while pursuing the enemy into their lines, had fallen, and the command of his army devolved thus suddenly upon Octavius. This circumstance deprived Decimus Brutus for the moment of any co-operation. Octavius drew back his troops into his own camp, and Brutus, not aware of the death of Hirtius[154], waited in expectation of receiving some communication from him. When he learned that Octavius was now the sole general of the army of

[153] Cicero, ad Brutum, I. epist. IV.

[154] Cicero, ad Familiares, XI. epist. XIII.

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the Commonwealth, he wished to ascertain his sentiments before he ventured freely to act with him; and having requested and obtained an interview with him, although Octavius removed all suspicion by the language which he held, yet it was too late in the day, after this meeting, to take any active steps in pursuing Antonius. On the following morning Decimus Brutus was summoned to Bononia to see Pansa, who was lying there ill of his wounds; but on his way thither he received intelligence of the consul's death, and returned immediately to Mutina, having lost irreparably another day. Meantime Antonius was retreating with the utmost rapidity, marching in no regular order, and swelling his numbers by opening all the workhouses, and enlisting the slaves who were kept there under their taskmasters[155]. His object was to enter Gaul as soon as possible by way of the Maritime Alps; and accordingly he allowed himself no respite till he had crossed the Apennines and arrived at Vada[156], a spot which still retains the name of Vado, and is situated on the road from Genoa to Nice, a little to the westward of Savona. Here he received a most seasonable support in the junction of P. Ventidius with three legions. This officer was a native of Asculum, and when that town had been taken by Cn. Pompeius Strabo in the Italian war, Ventidius, then quite a boy, had walked amongst the other prisoners in the triumphal procession of the con-

Antonius retreats towards Gaul, and is joined by Ventidius.

[155] Cicero, ad Familiares, XI. epist. X. XIII.

[156] Strabo, IV. 221, edit. Xyland.

queror. Since that time he had risen to considerable eminence, and had probably become acquainted with Antonius while they both served under Cæsar. When the civil war was again begun by the siege of Mutina, and Italy seemed likely to be the scene of a bloody contest, as in the times of Marius and Sylla, Ventidius repaired to his native country, Picenum, and there began to raise soldiers, partly from among Cæsar's veterans, and partly from the inhabitants. He had collected a force of three legions, and was apparently still in Picenum, or its neighbourhood[157], when he received intelligence of the defeat of Antonius. Without loss of time he set out to join him, and as Octavius took no pains to intercept him, he crossed the Apennines by roads scarcely practicable, and succeeded in his attempt. Their cavalry was exceedingly formidable[158], and L. Antonius was sent forwards with it to occupy the passes of the Alps, on the coast road from Vada to Forum Julii, or Frejus. Antonius himself arrived at Forum Julii on the fifteenth of May[159], with the first divisions of his infantry; Ventidius following at the distance of two days' march in the rear. They found that M. Lepidus had arrived with his army at Forum Vocontii, a place distant little more than twenty miles from them; and whatever private reasons Antonius might have had for depending on his assistance, yet his avowed object was to prevent the

Lepidus pretends to oppose his passage.

[157] Cicero, Philippic. XII. 9.
[158] Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. XV. XXXIII. XXXIV.
[159] Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. XVII.

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fugitive army from entering his province, and he had called upon L. Plancus to co-operate with him for that end. Plancus, as we have seen, had been rewarded with thanks and honours by the senate, on the motion of Cicero, in return for the assurances of patriotism which he had sent to Rome from his province in the month of March. He crossed the Rhone, near Lyons and Vienne, on the twenty-sixth of April [160], with the intention, as he declared, of marching into Italy to the relief of Decimus Brutus; but receiving intelligence of the battles of Mutina a few days afterwards, he halted between the Rhone and the Isere, and began to communicate with Lepidus on the best means of serving the Commonwealth.

Movements of Plancus and Decimus Brutus.

The chief agent in this correspondence was M. Juventius Laterensis, who was at this time one of the lieutenants of Lepidus; but, unlike his general, had been through life, and still continued to be, a fearless and sincere supporter of the old constitution [161]. Laterensis, believing what he wished, assured Plancus of the good intentions of Lepidus, and earnestly entreated him to move to his assistance against Antonius. It was on the twelfth of May

[160] Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. IX.

[161] Laterensis had abandoned his canvass for the tribuneship in the year 694, because all candidates for any magistracy were required to take an oath that they would never propose to the people any alteration in Cæsar's agrarian law, relative to a division of lands in Campania. Cicero, ad Atticum, II. epist. XVIII. And he had afterwards loudly taxed Cicero with a disgraceful tergiversation, when he allowed himself to court the friendship of Pompey and Cæsar in opposition to the senate after his return from exile. Cicero, pro Plancio, 38, 39.

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that Plancus had thrown a bridge over the Isere, and had crossed the river; but he had remained on the left bank for nine days, being inclined, he said, to wait there for the arrival of Decimus Brutus, on whose co-operation he could more safely rely than on that of Lepidus. But being urged by the repeated entreaties and assurances of Lepidus and Laterensis, he moved forwards from the Isere with four legions on the twenty-first of May [162], having built and garrisoned two towers at the two extremities of his bridge, in order to secure the passage for Decimus Brutus, if he should arrive from Italy to join him. Three days only after he left the Isere, Decimus Brutus was at Eporedia, or Ivrea [163], in the direct road from the plains of the Po to the passage over the Alps by the Little St. Bernard, by which, retracing Hannibal's footsteps, he would have descended into the plains of Dauphinè by Montmeillan, and the road to Vienne. Brutus had under his command an army of seven legions [164], consisting of the legions raised by Pansa, those which he had levied himself, and one legion of veterans; but having been delayed at first in pursuing Antonius after the battle of Mutina, having lost the co-operation of Octavius, and being unprovided with the means of adequately supplying his army, he was probably an unequal match for the united forces of Antonius and Ventidius, and therefore was obliged to rest his

[162] Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. XVIII.
[163] Cicero, ad Familiares, XI. epist. XX.
[164] Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. XXIV.; XI. epist. X.

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dependence on the assistance of Plancus. But when he had reached Eporedia, he was induced to suspend his march by the alarming reports which he received of the dispositions of Octavius and his veterans [165], reports which made him unwilling to leave Italy, and to abandon the seat of government to the ambition of one who was far more dangerous than Antonius. Meanwhile Plancus moved forwards from the Isere to join the army of Lepidus [166]; but by this time the soldiers of Antonius were in communication with those of Lepidus, and these last had openly told their general that they were determined to have peace, and would fight with none of their fellow-soldiers. M. Laterensis, perceiving that Lepidus took no steps to check these feelings in his soldiers, wrote to Plancus to warn him that he should advance no further; and Plancus accordingly halted within forty miles of Forum Julii to wait the event.

Union between Antonius and Lepidus.

On the twenty-ninth of May, Lepidus united his forces with those of Antonius, and the two generals instantly began to march in pursuit of Plancus. He fell back upon the Isere as they advanced, recrossed the river without suffering any annoyance, and having broken down his bridge, resolved again, according to his own account, to look forward to the arrival of Decimus Brutus. But it may be suspected that Antonius and Lepidus would have pursued him more vigorously, had they apprehended any serious effects from his hostility; and the indecision of

[165] Cicero, ad Familiares, XI. epist. XX.

[166] Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. XXI. XXIII.

Plancus may have joined with the treachery of Lepidus in provoking Laterensis to that act of despair by which, when he saw the junction with Antonius consummated, he fell upon his own sword.

Suicide of Laterensis.

It is now time to return to Rome, and to notice the effect produced in the capital by the tidings of the battle of Mutina. When it was known that the siege of Mutina was raised, and that Antonius was flying in disorder with the wreck of his army, the expressions, and probably the feelings of public joy, were great and general [167]. The people, as if all danger were at an end, laid aside the military dress; a triumph was voted to Decimus Brutus [168], an ovation to Octavius, and a public funeral in the Campus Martius to the two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa. Antonius and all his followers were declared public enemies; and as the death of the consuls left vacant the charge of conducting the war against Dolabella, P. Servilius moved that it should be now conferred on Cassius; and it was added, on the suggestion of Cicero, that M. Brutus might take part in it or not, as he should judge most expedient for the Commonwealth. The first check which his exultation sus-

Proceedings at Rome.

[167] Cicero, ad Brutum, I. epist. III. There is a story told by Valerius Maximus, V. 2, which seems to confirm the statement of Cicero, that the war with Antonius was regarded by the people in general as a struggle for their liberty. When M. Cornutus, the prætor, was proceeding to contract for the funeral solemnities of Hirtius and Pansa, the principal undertakers in Rome begged that they might be allowed to furnish every thing that was required, even to the labour of their slaves, without receiving any sort of payment, because they considered the two consuls to have fallen in the service of their country.

[168] Velleius Paterculus, II. 62, edit. Oxon. 1693. Cicero, ad Brutum, I. epist. V. XV.

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tained, was from the tidings of the unmolested retreat of Antonius, and of his junction with P. Ventidius; and the public complained loudly of the neglect of Decimus Brutus and Octavius in suffering their defeated enemy to escape. Decimus Brutus, however, had so deep an interest in the success of the aristocracy, that he cannot be suspected of any want of vigour in their cause; and his own justification, which he sent to Cicero in one of his letters, appears entirely satisfactory [169]. We have already mentioned the circumstances which detained him two days from the pursuit of Antonius immediately after the battle; and it became then impossible for him to overtake the fugitives, who were making their way with the utmost expedition by tracts which were probably impracticable for a regular army, whose order was unbroken. But Decimus Brutus requested Octavius to cross the Apennines and intercept the division of Ventidius [170]; for the troops of Antonius, if left to themselves, would naturally dwindle away by desertion; whereas, if they were reinforced immediately by a fresh army, their spirits would gradually recover, and their fidelity to their chief would be confirmed.

Conduct of Octavius.

And here we want a more detailed account of events, and a more careful specification of dates than it is now possible to gain. All the veteran legions, which had been commanded by the late consuls, were now, with one exception, under the orders of

[169] Ad Familiares, XI. epist. XIII.

[170] Ad Familiares, XI. epist. X.

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Octavius; but it seems that neither they nor their general were inclined to obey the senate any longer. What excuses he made to Decimus Brutus for not attempting to intercept Ventidius, we cannot tell; but no such attempt was made, and it was impossible for him, so soon after the battle, to have received intelligence of those decrees of the senate, which his partisans represent as so injurious to him. The fact appears to be, that the death of both the consuls instantly opened to Octavius a new prospect; and that his thoughts were henceforward bent far more on forwarding his own schemes of ambition at Rome, than on lending any effectual assistance to Decimus Brutus. He conceived the design of procuring his own election to the consulship for the remaining months of the year; and possibly he showed some symptoms of his intentions immediately after the battle of Mutina; for Decimus Brutus gives some intimations of this kind in a letter to Cicero, dated on the fifth of May[171]. If this were at all suspected, it was just and reasonable that the senate should endeavour to transfer the chief command of the armies in Italy to an officer on whom more reliance could be placed; and, accordingly, it was proposed by L. Livius Drusus[172], the father of the future wife of Octavius, and by L. Æmilius Paulus, that the fourth legion and the Martian

[171] Ad Familiares, XI. epist. X. Primum omnium, quantam perturbationem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus Consulum, quantamque cupiditatem hominibus injiciat vacuitas, non te fugit. Satis me multa scripsisse, quæ literis commendari possint, arbitror. Scio enim, cui scribam.

[172] Ad Familiares, XI. epist. XIX.

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should be given up to Decimus Brutus. This was never done, for the soldiers would not be commanded by one of Cæsar's assassins [173], and Octavius was not at all unwilling to avail himself of their inclinations, and to plead his inability to comply with the senate's order.

Yet although his conduct in this matter, combined with his designs upon the consulship, and his negligence in acting against Antonius and Ventidius, must have given just offence, nothing was decreed by the senate against him; but a deputation of senators was sent to the legions to try whether they could not be prevailed upon to remain firm in their duty, and to pacify them with regard to some claims for pay and military rewards which they had been lately advancing [174]. In times of civil war, which are necessarily accompanied by great public and private distress, the government naturally finds it difficult to pay the armies by which it is supported; and this inability is commonly made a handle by the soldiers and their generals to colour their own usurpations. The poverty of the Roman treasury was very great, and it seemed impossible to supply it without having recourse to direct taxation [175], from which the Romans had been exempted ever since the conquest of Macedonia by L. Æmilius Paulus. A property tax of one per cent. appears

[173] Ad Familiares, XI. epist. XIV.

[174] Velleius Paterculus, II. 62. Appian, III. 86.

[175] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. XXX. Pecunia conquiritur undique, ut optimè meritis militibus promissa solvantur; quod quidem fieri sine tributo posse non arbitror.

accordingly to have been levied [176]; but the money thus procured was no more than sufficient to discharge the promises formerly made by the senate to the fourth legion and the Martian for their early desertion of the cause of Antonius. A vote passed besides, that lands should be distributed among the soldiers of four legions [177]; but which they were, is not mentioned. And as a commission of ten senators had lately been appointed [178] for the purpose of examining the acts of Antonius during his consulship, and amongst the rest his grants of lands to Cæsar's veteran soldiers, it appears that some of the members of this commission were anxious to have the management of the grants now proposed to be made to the four legions, which they would have connected with the reversal of those made by Antonius. All the commissioners were warm partisans of the aristocracy, and Cicero was amongst the most distinguished of the number; but on account of the jealousy which was felt towards every military man who might possess a dangerous influence over the soldiery, neither Decimus Brutus nor Octavius were included amongst them. In these measures there was a spirit manifested which alarmed and irritated all the partisans of Cæsar, and which made the army fear that they should soon be deprived of

The army is irritated against the senate.

[176] Cicero, ad Brutum, I. epist. XVIII. Obdurescunt magis quotidie boni viri ad vocem tributi; quod ex centesimâ collatum impudenti censu locupletum in duarum legionum præmiis omne consumitur.

[177] Ad Familiares, XI. epist. XX.

[178] Ad Familiares, XI. epist. XX. XXI. Appian, III. 82.

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the fruits of their victories. The veterans expressed their indignation, that while their own generals were slighted, all the acts of government were directed by Cicero [179]; and all the bounties which they were to receive were to be given them by men of whom they had no knowledge, and from whose gratitude or ambition they had nothing to expect.

Such language repeated by every person around him served, perhaps, to excuse to Octavius himself the guilt of the conduct which he meditated. He threw himself into the hands of his soldiers, with the mutual understanding that he should defend their interests while they served the ends of his ambition. His own grounds of offence against the senate were utterly trifling. It is a mere mockery of all government, when a military officer thinks himself justified in committing treason, because his services have not been rewarded according to his estimate of their merits; and Decimus Brutus had as much right as Octavius to complain of the omission of his name among the ten commissioners. But Decimus Brutus, instead of turning the irritation of the soldiers to his own purposes, wrote to Cicero to acquaint him with it, and to advise him to take some steps to pacify it. He recommended that no one legion should be favoured above the rest; that the lands which had belonged to the soldiers of Antonius, should be divided amongst the veterans who had fought under the late consuls and

[179] Cicero, ad Familiares, XI. epist. XX.

Octavius; and that Octavius and himself should be entrusted with the distribution of them. Cicero, in answer, expressed his entire approbation of these proposals [180]; assured Decimus Brutus that he had already prevented his colleagues in the commission from having the management of the division of lands, and that it was not his fault that neither Decimus nor Octavius had been included amongst the commissioners. Under these circumstances, it was the army, and not Octavius personally, whom it seemed expedient to the senate to conciliate. Their demands of pay and of rewards in land, were to be satisfied or moderated; their jealousy of the senate and of the civil authorities, was to be lessened; and they were to be persuaded to show their obedience and their respect to the usual practice of the Commonwealth, by submitting to the command of Decimus Brutus, who was consul elect, rather than to that of a youth of nineteen, who had been only qualified to exercise any military authority at all, by the extraordinary favour of the senate in dispensing with the strict observance of the laws in his behalf. But when the deputation of the senate reached the camp of Octavius, the soldiers professed to be indignant that they were addressed distinctly from their general [181]; and Octavius, who had probably determined already on the part which he was to act, affected to be deeply injured, and while he professed his readiness to obey the senate, only inflamed the

They refuse to listen to a deputation sent to them by the senate.

[180] Cicero, ad Familiares, XI. epist. XXI.

[181] Velleius Paterculus, II. 62.

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veterans still more by his pretended meekness, and determined them to persist in their refusal to listen to any communication which they did not receive through him.

The defection of Lepidus, which took place, as we have seen, on the twenty-ninth of May, made Octavius more anxious than ever to terminate his opposition to Antonius. It seems that in the beginning of June, Plancus had carried his forces across the Alps, and had formed a junction with those of Decimus Brutus, in the neighbourhood of Eporedia or Ivrea. Their united army consisted of four veteran legions, of one or two years' standing, and of nine newly levied [182]; so that although some of these were probably incomplete, yet the numerical strength of the whole must have been very considerable. But hardly any superiority of numbers could enable the newly-raised troops to meet veterans in the field; so that in opposing the united armies of Lepidus, Antonius, and Ventidius, the four veteran legions were the only part of their force on which Plancus and Brutus could safely calculate. Plancus, therefore, sent repeated letters to Octavius, requesting him to march to their assistance; and Octavius answered them by assurances that he was coming without delay, although, in fact, he was bent on moving in the very opposite direction, and on employing his troops, not against Antonius, but against the senate and people of Rome. Meantime, the

[182] Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. XXIV.

The senate declares Lepidus a public enemy.

senate, on the thirtieth of June, declared M. Lepidus a public enemy, together with all his adherents [183]; and it seems to have been a question whether or no the veteran legions in the province of Africa, and M. Brutus, with his victorious army in Greece, should be recalled for the defence of Italy. It seems probable that Cæsar's friends, as long as the intentions of Octavius were any way doubtful, represented that it could not fail to disgust and alienate him entirely, if the senate appeared to mistrust his fidelity; and, above all, if M. Brutus were called in to overawe him in the centre of Italy, whilst the command of the war in the north had been just transferred from him to Decimus. Accordingly, the fear of offending Octavius seems to have had such influence, that M. Brutus, although privately urged by Cicero to cross over into Italy, was never officially summoned home by the senate; but two legions from the army in Africa were sent for, and were despatched accordingly by Q. Cornificius, the commander of the province; they did not, however, arrive in Rome till the month of August, and their arrival, after all, as we shall see, produced no benefit. It was in the month of July that Octavius sent to the capital a deputation from his army, headed by one of his centurions, to request, or rather to demand, that he should be elected consul [184]. Wishing, as we may suppose, to avoid the infamy of such an outrage, he

[183] Cicero, ad Familiares, XII. epist. XXIV. Suetonius, in Augusto, 26.
epist. X.

[184] Cicero, ad Familiares, X.

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had before endeavoured to find some friend amongst the magistrates or members of the senate, who would propose his request in a less obnoxious manner; but Cicero affirms[185], as a splendid proof of the unanimous good spirit by which the people were actuated, that not a single individual could be prevailed upon to countenance his ambition. His soldiers, however, were less scrupulous; and it is mentioned, that when the deputation was admitted into the senate, and had declared the wishes of the army, the centurion who headed it, finding that the senators hesitated in complying, threw back his military cloak, and pointing to the hilt of his sword, exclaimed, "If you refuse our request, this shall grant it." When such treasonable language could be uttered with impunity, a military despotism was, in fact, already established. The senate could not, at once, be induced to surrender up that liberty which so lately seemed to have been securely recovered; but Octavius determined now to throw off the mask altogether, put his army in motion from Cisalpine Gaul, entered Italy, as we are told, by the very road which his uncle had taken at the beginning of his rebellion[186], advanced without opposition to the very gates of the capital, occupied the Campus Martius with his troops, and thus, under the imminent terror of a military usurpation, he was admitted into the city, and was elected consul, together with Q. Pedius, an old officer of his uncle, in the month of August,

Military deputation sent by Octavius to Rome, to demand the consulship.

Octavius marches to Rome, and is elected consul, together with Q. Pedius.

[185] Ad Brutum, I. epist. X.

[186] Appian, de Bello Civili, III. 88, et seq.

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710 [187]. From this moment the liberty of the Commonwealth was lost for ever; the senate, now the helpless instrument of military violence, was obliged to repeal its former decrees, by which Antonius and Lepidus had been declared public enemies; and the famous Pedian law was proposed and carried by Q. Pedius, which enacted that all the assassins of Cæsar, and all who had approved of the murder, should be brought to trial for that crime, and on condemnation should be forbidden the use of fire and water, according to the usual style of attainder. It is said that M. Agrippa came forward as the accuser of C. Cassius under this law [188]; and as neither he nor any of the other conspirators were in Rome to answer to the charge, sentence of condemnation was passed against them all. In the midst of these disturbances, the two legions from Africa arrived in Italy [189]; but the soldiers were soon corrupted by the general example of their comrades, and put themselves under the command of Octavius.

The assassins of Cæsar are condemned by a law brought forward by Q. Pedius.

We have now reached the period at which we can no longer avail ourselves of the inestimable guidance of Cicero and his correspondents; and we are left at the very moment when our curiosity and interest are most intensely excited, without any means of gratifying them. We might, indeed, still present our readers with a very detailed narrative of the course of events, if we could prevail on ourselves to rely on Dion Cassius and Appian. But as we have found

[187] Velleius Paterculus, II. 65. 69.

[188] Velleius Paterculus, II. 69.

[189] Appian, III. 92.

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how little they are to be trusted when we have been able to try them by a reference to good authorities, so when we have no opportunity of doing so, we cannot follow them with confidence, nor will we injure the truth of history by the indiscriminate admission of evidence so worthless.

It seems that Octavius, soon after his usurpation of the consulship, took the field to watch the movements of Antonius, who, since his junction with Lepidus, appears to have remained for some time quietly in Gaul, and not to have made any attempts against the army of Plancus and Brutus. But it is likely that he was prepared for the change in the conduct of Octavius, and rightly augured that he should draw from his consulship the same advantages which he must otherwise have risked a battle to gain. Asinius Pollio[190], finding that Cæsar's officers were all uniting in one common cause, and that his heir was on the point of taking his natural station amongst them, surrendered his legions to Antonius; and L. Plancus did not hesitate to separate his troops from those of Decimus Brutus, and to follow the example of Pollio. Of the four veteran legions which Plancus and Brutus had commanded, three had belonged to Plancus[191]; and when these submitted to Antonius, it is likely that the single one which had been commanded by Brutus, was easily induced to follow the example of its comrades. It is said also, that Plancus endeavoured to make his

Asinius Pollio and L. Plancus join Antonius.

[190] Velleius Paterculus, II. 63. Livy, Epitome, CXX.

[191] Cicero, ad Familiares, X. epist. XXIV.

defection still more acceptable to Antonius[192], by treacherously getting the person of his late associate into his power. In this he failed, but Decimus Brutus soon found that he could not depend upon the newly-raised legions, which alone continued to acknowledge his authority. They gradually dropped away from him, and Brutus saw that his only resource was to escape, if possible, from Italy, and reach the camp of M. Brutus in Greece. His troops at last deserting him altogether, he assumed the disguise of a Gaul, and hoped, by avoiding all the ordinary roads, to make his way to Aquileia and Illyricum, through the territories of the Gaulish chiefs, which bordered upon the Alps. He was discovered, however, by one of the chiefs, who instantly detained him, and sent word to Antonius of his capture. Antonius sent a party of soldiers to put him to death, and to bring his head away with them, and his commands were speedily executed. If, as it is reported, the Gaulish chief who betrayed him had formerly received great kindnesses at his hands[193], Decimus Brutus met with a treatment more exactly corresponding to the peculiar perfidy and ingratitude which he had himself shown in the assassination of Cæsar. It is true that in the last part of his life he had well and honourably supported the cause of the Commonwealth; but if Antonius had never been guilty of a worse crime than the

Decimus Brutus is deserted by his soldiers, and endeavours to escape into Greece.

He is taken and put to death by order of Antonius.

[192] Velleius Paterculus, II. 64. Livy, Epitome, CXX. Appian, III. 97, 98. Valerius Maximus, IX. 13.

[193] Appian, III. 98.

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putting him to death, his conduct would have had some plea of retaliation to urge; and amidst the low morality of the times, the illegality of the action might seem excused by the former illegal violence of him who was now the victim.

Octavius, or Augustus as we shall for the future call him [194], now invested with the title of consul, and commanding a numerous army, marched back again towards Cisalpine Gaul, and found that Antonius and Lepidus had by this time recrossed the Alps, and were arrived in the neighbourhood of Mutina. A friendly correspondence had been carried on between the chiefs of the two armies before they were advanced very near to one another; and it was determined that all differences should finally be settled, and the future measures which they were to take in common, should be arranged at a personal interview. Accordingly the meeting took place in one of the islands [195], if so they may be called, which

Meeting between Antonius, Lepidus, and Augustus.

[194] We have resolved to call Octavius henceforward by the name of Augustus, in order that the cruelties of the triumvirate, and the splendour of the imperial government, may be distinctly associated in the reader's mind with one and the same person; for otherwise the emperor seems to have derived a real benefit from his change of name, and Octavius with all his atrocities is forgotten, while we think only of Augustus, the peaceful sovereign of the civilized world, the patron of literature, and the idol of the favourite writers of our youth.

[195] Appian, IV. 2. Plutarch, in Antonio, 19. Such a spot as that described in the text, was the isle of Athelney, in Somersetshire, to which Alfred is said to have retired when the Danes had overrun his kingdom. And the isle of Ely still retains the name of an island, which it obtained originally from similarity of situation. The progress of agricultural improvement so alters the appearance of such districts, that Athelney now can scarcely, if at all, be recognised; and the country between the Apennines and the Po, which was in the days of the tri-

were formed in the low fenny district between the Apennines and the Po, by the numerous streams which descended from the mountains, and which for want of a proper drainage spread themselves to a vast extent over the low country, encircling various tracts of marshy ground in their irregular courses. On one of these spots, which the subsequent alterations in the nature of the country would soon make it almost impossible to identify, amidst a scenery, the dull and loathsome character of which well befitted the actors and the acts which they meditated, Antonius, Lepidus, and Augustus held their conference. It was pretended afterwards by the writers who flourished under the imperial government [196], that Augustus for a long time remonstrated against the bloody executions which Antonius and Lepidus were eager to perpetrate; but his language at a private meeting could not be so well ascertained as his subsequent conduct; and this, it is confessed, was more remorseless than that of either of his associates; for whilst Antonius and Lepidus listened in several instances to the influence of entreaties or of favour, and spared those whom they had condemned to death, it is mentioned that Augustus did not pardon a single victim [197]. But whatever discussions may have taken place between the three leaders, the result sufficiently proved that all principles and all feelings of good were overpowered in their minds by

umvirate little better than a great fen, is now described to be one of the richest and most delightful parts in Italy.

[196] Velleius Paterculus, II. 66.

[197] Suetonius, in Augusto, 27.

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revenge and ambition. They constituted themselves into a Triumvirate, or High Commission of Three [198], for settling the affairs of the Commonwealth during five years; they divided among themselves those provinces of the empire which were subject to their power; and nominated the persons who were to hold the usual annual magistracies during the term of the Triumvirate; they made such liberal promises to their armies, that it is said that eighteen of the finest cities in Italy, together with the territories adjacent to them, were to be given up to the soldiers as military colonies; and they agreed to draw up a list of proscription, including the names of all those individuals whom they proposed to murder. To cement the personal union of the Triumvirs, it was resolved that Clodia [199], the daughter-in-law of Antonius, being the daughter of his wife Fulvia by her first husband P. Clodius, should be given in marriage to Augustus; but she was as yet too young to become a wife, and in a short time afterwards the nominal connexion which policy had formed, was, by a change of political circumstances, as readily dissolved.

The great proscription.

Immediately after the conclusion of this agreement, and while its purport was unknown at Rome, orders were despatched to the capital for the murder of twelve or sixteen individuals whom the Triumvirs wished to destroy before any general alarm was given [200]. Some of these victims were suddenly

[198] Livy, Epitome, CXX. Appian, IV. 3.

[199] Suetonius, in Augusto, 62.

[200] Appian, IV. 6, et seq.

assassinated in the streets, or at social entertainments; and although the armies of the Triumvirs were yet at a distance, the consul Q. Pedius, who had been left by Octavius at Rome, sanctioned these crimes by his authority, and at once showed to the people the hopelessness of the evil under which they had fallen. He attempted, indeed, to allay the panic which these first murders occasioned, by publishing the names of the individuals whom he had been ordered to destroy, and by assurances that no others should be molested. But it is said that Pedius died suddenly, in consequence of his excessive personal exertions to preserve tranquillity in the city; and the Triumvirs were thus freed from the difficulty in which his official limitation of the number of the proscribed might otherwise have involved them. A few days afterwards they entered Rome with their troops; the comitia were assembled in mockery; the appointment of the Triumvirate was proposed by P. Titius (one of the tribunes who had before distinguished himself by his opposition to Cicero's measures), and was of course agreed to without a murmur. Then the lists of proscription began to be published; but gradually, as had been done before by Sylla, as if to protract the misery of the sufferers by this horrible state of suspense. The lists were accompanied by a proclamation, which Appian professes to have faithfully translated into Greek from its Latin original, and to which probably no other parallels can be found in history than that which defended the massacre of St. Bartholomew,

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and that which encouraged the populace of Paris to the murders committed in the prisons in September, 1792. It is remarkable, too, that in the latter of these two cases, the very same excuse was assigned for the massacres as was now alleged by the Triumvirs, "Whilst we are hastening to attack our enemies abroad," said Lepidus, Antonius, and Augustus, "we cannot with safety leave so many other enemies behind us in Rome; nor again can we linger to take precautions against our domestic adversaries, lest the dangers with which we are threatened from abroad become too formidable to be overcome." "Whilst the patriots are hastening to the defence of their country in the plains of Champagne," said the municipality of Paris, "they cannot leave their wives and children exposed to the machinations of those numerous aristocrats who will be let loose from their prisons on the first successes obtained by the enemy, to fill our streets and our houses with bloodshed."

Extent of the proscription.

Under pretence of thus providing for their security, the Triumvirs inscribed on the proscription list the names of one hundred and thirty senators [201], at the lowest computation, and of a far greater number of the equestrian order. All persons were forbidden to harbour or to promote the escape of any of the proscribed, under pain of being sentenced to the same fate themselves [202]; while rewards were offered to any who should put them to death, and bring their heads to the Triumvirs; and it was added, that

[201] Livy, Epitome, CXX. [202] Appian, IV. 11.

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no record should be kept of the payment of this blood-money, that he who received it might not hereafter be exposed to the public detestation. That no aggravation of wickedness might be wanting, each of the three associates stained themselves with the blood of some near relation or former friend. M. Lepidus insisted that his brother, L. Æmilius Paulus, should be proscribed [203]; Antonius inserted on the list the name of his uncle, L. Cæsar; and Augustus added that of his guardian, C. Toranius. In emulation of the chiefs, L. Plancus requested that his brother, Plotius Plancus, might be amongst the victims; and, if Appian may be credited, Asinius Pollio, in like manner, procured the murder of his father-in-law. The rewards offered to the murderers, added the instigations of avarice to those of revenge or fear, and produced instances of the most horrible domestic treachery; freedmen betraying their patrons, slaves their masters, and children their parents. It is the remark of Paterculus [204], that the proscription was marked by the heroic fidelity of wives towards their husbands, whilst the conduct of sons towards their fathers was peculiarly undutiful and perfidious; and he imputes this to the eagerness which men feel to anticipate their hopes of future advantage; for the son hoped by the merit of his parricide to save his father's property from confiscation, and to obtain an earlier possession of his inheritance. Anecdotes of these fearful times were greedily col-

[203] Livy, Epitome, CXX. Suetonius, in Augusto, 27.

[204] II. 67.

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lected, and volumes, as we are told, were filled with them [205]; some recording the most tragical deaths, and others the most extraordinary escapes, of those who were destined to destruction. But of all the victims of the proscription we must select the most illustrious, and follow as carefully as we can the circumstances of the fate of M. Cicero.

Murder of M. Cicero.

From the moment that we can no longer derive any information concerning him from his own writings, our knowledge of his conduct becomes much less accurate. The latest of his own letters, which has been preserved to us, is one written to M. Brutus on the twenty-seventh of July [206], in which he expresses great fears lest Augustus should disappoint all his hopes, and should falsify by some act of treason all the praises which he had bestowed upon him. But two letters from Brutus are extant [207], apparently of a still later date, written one to Cicero and the other to T. Atticus, in both of which Cicero is taxed with an excessive complaisance towards Augustus, and is accused particularly of having interceded with him in too humble a manner in behalf of the conspirators against Cæsar, and even of having endeavoured to conciliate him by condemning their conduct, and by attacking P. Casca, who was one of the tribunes for the year, and who, on the motion of P. Titius, had been degraded from his office by the votes of his tribes, since Augustus had usurped the

[205] Appian, IV. 16.
[206] Epist. ad Brutum, I. epist. XVIII.
[207] Epist. ad Brutum, I. epist. XVI. XVII.

consulship. It is very likely that Cicero was somewhat too credulous in trusting to the fair professions which Augustus constantly made to him; he believed, besides, that in spite of the pernicious counsels of his military friends, so young a man could not yet be thoroughly corrupted, and might still be led to choose the better part, if his suspicions of the aristocracy could be lessened. With this view he thought it politic to praise him, and to move that extraordinary honours should be granted him; he may also have felt that if Augustus could be taught to respect the constitution of his country, much might be indulged to his natural resentment towards the assassins of his uncle; and that in speaking to him of them and of their conduct, the language of deprecation and censure was more fitting than any higher tone. It is true that Cicero's personal enmity against Antonius made him over-estimate the services which Augustus had rendered in first taking up arms against him; nor did he rightly appreciate the real danger which threatened the Commonwealth, and which arose not from the ambition of any one man, however unprincipled, but from the power and insolence of the army at large, who were now conscious of their strength, and were determined to exert it. We are told that Cicero at one time was desirous of becoming the colleague of Augustus in the consulship[208]; and if he could have effected this, the evil designs of his colleague would

[208] Plutarch, in Cicerone, 45, 46.

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have been in a great measure neutralized; the declarations of the senate against Antonius and Lepidus would not have been so easily repealed; the law condemning the assassins of Cæsar might not have passed, nor the nominal authority of government have been so speedily transferred to that party which had hitherto been considered as in a state of rebellion. But Augustus having the power of the sword in his hands, determined to avail himself of it to the utmost; he chose, therefore, for his colleague, not Cicero, but Q. Pedius; and the first measures of his consulship must have almost prepared Cicero for that consummation of treachery which was soon afterwards displayed in establishing the Triumvirate.

It is said that the name of Cicero was included in that first list of victims whom Q. Pedius received orders to destroy before the arrival of the Triumvirs at Rome. But, be this as it may, Cicero could not doubt of his own danger, from the moment that he heard of the conferences and engagements between the three generals. He instantly, therefore, quitted the capital[209], and retired to his villa near Tusculum, whence, by cross roads, he escaped to another of his villas near Formiæ, intending to embark on board of a vessel at Caieta, and make the best of his way by sea to Macedonia. A vessel was provided for him, and he commenced his voyage; but the wind was contrary, and the delay thus occasioned, together with the sickness which he always felt severely at

[209] Livy, Fragm. apud Senecam, inter Fragmenta T. Livii editum.

sea, induced him to return and to take no further steps to avoid the fate which awaited him. "I will die," he said, "in that country which I have so often saved." He was now sixty-three years of age, so that death seemed to him preferable to the miseries and anxieties of a doubtful flight. He landed, therefore, once more, and returned to his Formian villa near Caieta. Here he was disposed to remain and to meet his death, but his slaves[210], who were warmly attached to him, could not bear to see him thus sacrificed; and when the party of soldiers sent to murder him was advancing towards the villa, they almost forced him to put himself into his litter, and to allow them to carry him once more on board of the vessel which was still lying at Caieta. But as they were bearing the litter towards the sea, they were overtaken in the walks of his own grounds by the soldiers who were in search of him, and who were headed by one Herennius, a centurion, and by C. Popilius Lænas. Popilius was a native of Picenum[211], and had, on a former occasion, been successfully defended by Cicero, when brought to trial for some offence before the courts at Rome. As the assistance of advocates was given gratuitously, the connexion between them and their clients was esteemed very differently from what it is amongst us; and it was, therefore, an instance of peculiar atrocity that Popilius offered his services to Antonius to murder his patron, from no other motive

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210 Plutarch, in Cicerone, 47, 48. 211 Valerius Maximus, V. 3.

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than the hope of gaining his favour by showing such readiness to destroy his greatest enemy. The slaves of Cicero [212], undismayed at the appearance of the soldiers, prepared to defend their master; but he refused to allow any blood to be shed on his account, and commanded them to set down the litter, and to await the issue in silence. He was obeyed, and when the soldiers came up, he stretched out his head with perfect calmness, and submitted his neck to

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the sword of Popilius. When the murder was accomplished, the soldiers cut off his two hands also, as the instruments with which he had written his Philippic orations; and the head and hands were both carried to Rome and exposed together at the rostra, at the very place where he had been so lately heard with an universal feeling of admiration, "such," says Livy, "as no human tongue had ever excited before." Men crowded to see his mangled remains, and testified by their tears, the compassion and affection which his unworthy death and his pure and amiable character had so justly deserved.

Political character of Cicero.

In reviewing the political life of Cicero, it cannot, we think, be doubted, that none of his contemporaries surpassed him in the liberality of his views, or the integrity of his motives. He has been usually charged with vacillation and timidity throughout the period which elapsed between his return from banishment in 696, and the close of the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar. It seems, indeed, that in all

[212] Fragment. Livii, ubi supra.

great political convulsions, candour and acuteness are apt to lead to indecision[213]; it is certain, at least, that they will incur the reproach of it from all the more violent partisans of either side. At Rome, immediately before the commencement of Cæsar's rebellion, neither of the two parties, by which the state was divided, was worthy of the cordial support of an honest and well-judging citizen. The heads of the high aristocracy were selfish and violent; the popular tribunes and the military leaders, whose interests they served, were turbulent and unprincipled. A few years earlier, while Pompey and Cæsar were as yet acting in union with one another, the aristocratical leaders were not such as to encourage confidence; and their jealousy of Cicero, because he was not by birth or inclination exclusively connected with themselves, was a public as well as a personal reason for his regarding them with suspicion and dislike. At the same time, Cicero must be allowed to have been biassed at this particular period by private feelings; by the flattering language of Pompey and Cæsar on the one side, which affected the placability of his nature even more than its vanity, and by the countenance which the aristocracy at this time gave to his enemy Clodius, because they wished to employ his services

[213] Τὸ πρὸς ἅπαν ξυνετὸν, ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀργόν.—Τὸ δὲ σῶφρον, τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα. Such was the manner in which Thucydides tells us that the violent and unprincipled members of the aristocratical and democratical factions in Greece represented the characters of those few moderate and upright men who regarded both the contending parties with equal disapprobation. III. 82.

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in annoying the Triumvirate. The greatest error into which these feelings led him, was the speech which he made in the senate "On the disposal of the consular provinces," in which he pronounced a high panegyric upon Cæsar, and urged that he should be continued in his command in Gaul, while at the same time he advised the recall of Piso from Macedonia, and of Gabinius from Syria. But six years before the commencement of Cæsar's rebellion, it was hardly to be suspected that he intended to use his province as a means of enabling him to make war upon his country, or that he had no thoughts of resigning his command in Gaul till it should be exchanged for the sovereignty of the empire.

When the civil war at last broke out, Cicero disapproved of the system on which Pompey intended to conduct it, and particularly of his purpose of leaving Italy. Yet he was only prevented at first from following him into Greece by the rapid advance of Cæsar's army into Apulia, by which he was precluded from joining Pompey at Brundisium; and afterwards, having tried in vain, yet without the least compromise of his own character, to persuade Cæsar to conclude a peace on equitable terms, he escaped from Italy on the first opportunity, and joined the standard of the Commonwealth in Macedonia. There a nearer view of the avowed sentiments and designs of the aristocratical leaders, made him, indeed, a lukewarm follower of their cause. To say nothing of the immediate confiscations and proscriptions which they announced as the first

fruits of their victory, Cicero might justly dread that their triumph would be followed by the re-enactment of Sylla's most tyrannical measures, the destruction of the tribunitian magistracy, and the appropriation of the whole judicial power to the senatorian order. Seeing thus so much to excite his fears in the success of either party, the miseries of civil war would naturally strike upon his mind with proportionate force; and he wished to escape, at any rate, from any personal share in the struggle which he abhorred, as soon as he could with honour. Accordingly, after the battle of Pharsalia, he took no further part in the war, but returned to Italy, and received the conqueror's permission to live in the quiet enjoyment of his own property. When Cæsar's power was finally established, Cicero kept up his former acquaintance with him on the terms of mutual civility; but he received from him no favours, unless we consider it in that light, that his family was one amongst many which Cæsar raised to the dignity of patricians, when he wished to fill up the losses sustained by that order in the late wars. At last, after Cæsar's death, when a fair prospect opened of restoring the old constitution, Cicero acted with a degree of firmness and decision, which we think adds probability to the representation which we have given of his motives and feelings in the earlier part of his career.

His main error, as it seems to us, in the latter part of his life, was his excessive partiality to the assassins of Cæsar, and his throwing so great a mili-

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tary force into their hands. The murder of Cæsar was an action, at the best, to be buried in oblivion. Except the single pretence of revenging his death, the new enemies of the constitution had not another excuse for their treason; while the cause which Cicero upheld was perfectly pure, if it did not needlessly encumber itself by upholding an act of assassination, and rewarding the murderers. The more respectable part of Cæsar's old officers, such as Hirtius, and Pansa, and Cornificius, and of those moderate men who had submitted to his power without having shared in the guilt of his first rebellion, such as P. Servilius, Ser. Sulpicius, L. Philippus, and others, were the very men to whom the Commonwealth might most safely have trusted the defence of its liberties against Antonius; for not only would Cæsar's veterans have obeyed them without reluctance, but all that numerous party who had been gainers by the late revolution, looked upon these men as their security against the excesses of a complete reaction, and would have willingly supported the Commonwealth so long as they conducted the administration of it. And with them Cicero might safely have taken his place as their associate, or even as their leader; for his eloquence and his integrity had made him long and generally popular: and the only ground of the offence which Cæsar's veterans entertained against him, was his so closely connecting himself with the assassins of their general. Even Augustus himself might not so soon have proved a traitor, had he not seen that while Cicero was on the

one hand courting his support, he was on the other conferring exorbitant powers on Brutus and Cassius, and investing them with the whole military command of the east. The restoration of the Commonwealth might have been practicable; but to reinstate the old aristocracy, or the friends of Pompey, in their former supremacy, was clearly not so. But perhaps after all, the preservation of any form of civil government was become impossible, since the army was grown so formidable as to form a distinct interest of its own, and since its favour or displeasure were held up even in the debates of the senate as objects of hope or fear. Be this as it may, Cicero died as he had lived, with a reputation of patriotism and integrity; nor is his life, as a citizen, stained with any thing worse than some mixture of vanity and erroneous judgment amid many splendid instances of liberality and moderation, and wisdom and vigour.

Some account of other persons included in the proscription.

Amongst the other distinguished persons who were murdered in the same proscription, may be noticed Q. Cicero and his son, C. Toranius, a man of prætorian dignity [214], and who had been guardian to Augustus; L. Villius Annalis [215], one of the prætors for the present year; C. Plotius Plancus, the brother of L. Plancus; and, according to Appian, Salvius [216], one of the tribunes, and Minucius, also one of the prætors. L. Cæsar [217], the uncle of Antonius, was

[214] Valerius Maximus, IX. 11. Appian, IV. 18. Suetonius, in Augusto, 27.
[215] Valerius Maximus, IX. 11.
[216] Appian, IV. 17.
[217] Appian, IV. 37.

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saved by the influence of his sister; and L. Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, was allowed to escape by the soldiers sent to murder him, who respected, it is said, the brother of their general, or perhaps were shocked at the unnatural wickedness of their general, in commanding the murder of so near a relation. M. Varro [218], formerly one of Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, but much more known as a man of letters, was saved by the intercession of Q. Calenus. Apulius [219], perhaps the same person who was tribune in this very year, and who was warmly attached to Cicero, escaped to the army of M. Brutus in Macedonia. Some of the expedients by which individuals who had been proscribed preserved their lives, are worthy of mention, as serving to illustrate the circumstances of the times. Sentius Saturninus Vetulio [220] assumed the dress and ensigns of a prætor, disguised his slaves as lictors, and proceeded from Rome towards Naples, with all the state of a public officer; impressing carriages for his use, taking possession of the inns on the road, and obliging all travellers whom he met to move out of the way till he had passed. Having thus reached Puteoli in safety, he there pretended to be employed on the service of the state, and demanded some vessels for the conveyance of himself and his attendants, which being granted, he effected his passage in safety to Sicily, where Sex. Pompeius was holding the chief

Anecdotes relating to the proscription.

[218] Appian, IV. 47.
[219] Appian, IV. 46.
[220] Valerius Maximus, VII. 3. Appian, IV. 45.

command. Antius Restio had been proscribed [221], and escaped from his house secretly by night, while his slaves, having heard of their master's sentence, were busily engaged in plundering his property. One slave alone had watched him, and followed him in his flight; a man who had been branded in the face by his master for some offence, and had been confined in chains, in his workhouse, from whence he had only been released by some of his fellow-servants at the time of the general ruin of their master's fortunes. This man overtook Antius, assured him that he entertained no resentment against him for the punishment which he had received, but rather felt grateful to him for many former kindnesses; and having concealed him out of the way of the soldiers who were in search of him, he began to construct a funeral pile, and then having, without any scruple murdered an old man who happened to be passing by on the road, he placed his body upon it. The soldiers coming up while he was thus employed, he hastened to tell them that he had himself killed the object of their search, in revenge for the former ill treatment which he had received from him; and as his story seemed probable, they contented themselves with taking the head of the murdered man as that of Antius, in order to obtain the usual reward from the Triumvirs on producing it; and suspicion being thus laid asleep, Antius himself was conducted from his hiding place by his slave, and escaped with him

[221] Valerius Maximus, VI. 8. Macrobius, Saturnalia, I. 11. Appian, IV. 43.

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into Sicily. M. Volusius [222], one of the ædiles, procured from a friend the dress of one of the ministers of Isis, and disguising himself in the long linen gown, and wearing the mask made like a dog's face, which were the distinguishing marks of that order of persons, he went about through the streets dancing and begging money of the passengers; and in this manner he made his way through a considerable part of the country, till he at last escaped out of Italy. Some of the proscribed assumed the disguise of centurions, and arming their slaves as soldiers, went about as if they were themselves employed in the pursuit of others; and once, it is mentioned, two of these parties fell in with one another [223], and each mistaking the other for the real emissaries of the Triumvirs, they fought for some time without discovering their mutual mistake. One man of the name of Vitulinus [224], formed a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Rhegium, partly out of those who were proscribed, and had, like himself, escaped the murderers, and partly out of the inhabitants of those eighteen cities of Italy which the Triumvirs had given up to their soldiers as settlements. Thus supported, he cut off several parties that were going about in pursuit of the proscribed, till at last, when a strong detachment was sent against him, he maintained several obstinate contests, and before he was killed had the satisfaction of knowing that his son, and several others who had been proscribed, had

[222] Valerius Maximus, VII. 3. Appian, IV. 47.
[223] Appian, 46.
[224] Appian, 25.

effected their escape to Sicily in safety. Amidst the horrors of the times, we are told that several orphans [225], of tender age, who were heirs to large properties, were included in the proscription, that their wealth might become the prey of the Triumvirs. One of these, of the name of Atilius, had just gone through the ceremony of putting on the manly gown, and was going, as was the custom, attended by a numerous company of his friends, to offer sacrifice at the temples. It was suddenly announced that his name was among the number of the proscribed; the procession instantly dispersed, and Atilius, deserted by all his relations, fled to his mother's house for shelter. But even she refused to receive him, dreading to incur the penalty denounced against all who should harbour the proscribed. Thus cast off, and despairing of protection from any one else, when his own mother had abandoned him, he fled to an unfrequented part of the country and took refuge amongst the mountains; but being obliged to descend into the valleys to get food, he was seized by a kidnapper, who was in the habit of carrying off travellers, and confining them as slaves in his workhouse. Unable to bear the cruelties to which he was here exposed, he made his escape to the high road, and in utter despair gave himself up to the first military party that passed by, and was by them accordingly put to death.

Behaviour of the Triumvirs.

If any thing could be wanting to complete the

[225] Appian, 30.

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general misery, it was added by the utter insolence with which the Triumvirs mocked the victims of their tyranny. Rufus Cæsetius, a senator[226], had been proscribed, because he was the owner of a house and property adjoining to those of Fulvia, the wife of Antonius, and had often refused to sell them to her. He was murdered, and his head as usual was brought to Antonius, who happened to be at table with a party of his associates. After carefully examining the features of the face, Antonius said to the soldiers, "This is no acquaintance of mine[227]," and desired them to take it to Fulvia, and she ordered it to be exposed, not as usual at the rostra, but in front of the house which had been the occasion of his murder. M. Lepidus and L. Plancus[228], in the very midst of the proscription, determined to enjoy the honours of a triumph for some victories which they had gained while commanding respectively the provinces of Gallia Narbonnensis, and Gallia Transalpina. An order was issued, commanding that the usual marks of general rejoicing should not be omitted; that the people should attend the triumphal procession, and should offer sacrifices of thanksgiving at the temples. It must be remembered that Lepidus and Plancus had each caused the name of his own brother to be inserted in the lists of the proscribed; and in allusion to this, their own soldiers, availing themselves of the customary license of the occasion, shouted aloud,

[226] Valerius Maximus, IX. 5. Appian, 29.

[227] "Hunc ego notum non habui." Valerius Maximus, IX. 5.

[228] Appian, 31. Velleius Paterculus, II. 67.

as they followed their chariots, "De Germanis, non de Gallis, duo triumphant consules [229]."

One object of all these dreadful atrocities had been the money which the Triumvirs hoped to gain from the sale of the property of their victims [230]. But in this hope they were greatly disappointed. The plate and most articles of valuable furniture were generally plundered by the slaves of the owner, as soon as his name was seen on the fatal list; and the houses and landed estates could only be sold at low prices, because the people in general considered it infamous to become purchasers; and A. Cascellius [231], a lawyer of high reputation, steadily refused to make any instrument of conveyance for property granted by the Triumvirs, or possibly sold at their auctions, considering such means of acquiring it to be no better than robbery. Accordingly the Triumvirs, finding themselves still in want of money, drew out a list of fourteen hundred ladies [232], who were ordered to make exact returns of their property, that a proportionate tax might be levied upon them. This excited great indignation, and the persons aggrieved having first applied in vain for the intercession of the female relations of the Triumvirs, assembled themselves in the forum, and trusting to the protection of their sex, addressed the Triumvirs in very forcible language, and succeeded in obtaining

Their rapacity.

[229] "The consuls are triumphing, not over the Gauls, but 'de Germanis,' which signifies either 'over the Germans,' or, 'over their brothers.'"

[230] Appian, 31.

[231] Valerius Maximus, VI. 2.

[232] Appian, IV. 32, et seq. Valerius Maximus, VIII. 3.

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from them an abatement of the greatest part of the tax which it had been intended to raise. But as the men could not utter their complaints with equal safety, they were condemned to make up for this deficiency. Every person, of what rank or condition soever, who was possessed of property to the amount of more than 400,000 H.S., or about 3200*l.* [233], was required to furnish a loan of two per cent. upon all that he was worth, and at the same time to pay the value of a year's income as a tax for the immediate expenses of the war.

Crimes of the soldiers and others.

But the cruelty and rapacity of the Triumvirs themselves, great as they were, might yet have been satisfied by so many murders and confiscations as we have already recorded. A wider and almost boundless scene of misery was opened by the infinite vexations, robberies, and violences of every kind which were committed by the army at large [234]; when every soldier gratified his passions without scruple, and the Triumvirs dared not refuse to their instruments that same license of wickedness which they were themselves so largely enjoying. The example of the soldiers was followed by numerous bands of slaves and other low persons, who took advantage of the general confusion to plunder and murder in their turn, and often assumed the disguise of soldiers to ensure to themselves impunity. But as their resentment was not dreaded, their disorders were more speedily repressed; orders were given by the Tri-

[233] Appian, 34.

[234] Appian, 35.

umvirs to punish those who committed unauthorized acts of violence; and as the soldiers were too formidable to be restrained, the inferior malefactors were the only sufferers; and of these last, several were seized and crucified.



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Reflections on the proscription.

Although no previous provocation, nor any prospect of future benefits to the Commonwealth, could justify in any degree so atrocious a massacre, yet its wickedness becomes still more heightened when we consider the only pleas which its perpetrators could urge in their defence, and the utter selfishness of the motives by which they were actuated. Their great pretence was to revenge the murder of Cæsar; an act the guilt of which was confined to about sixty individuals, scarcely any of whom were among the victims of the present proscription. Thousands who had no share in his death, might very justly have rejoiced in the effects of it, in the dissolution of a tyrannical power, and the restoration of the lawful constitution; and after the murder had been perpetrated, the best course which could be followed was that which the senate actually adopted on the motion of Cicero, to decree a general amnesty for the past, and to resume the usual form of the government, as if Cæsar's usurpation had never interrupted it. And on this principle the more respectable of Cæsar's friends, such as Hirtius and Pansa, acted; who, while openly lamenting and condemning his murder, thought that it ill became them to renew the civil war for the purpose of revenging it; but that it was the duty of all good citizens to uphold that old con-

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stitution of their country which was now, by whatever means, restored; especially as all the beneficial effects of the late revolution were still maintained, in the extension of the privileges of citizenship to a great number of foreigners, and the elevation of many individuals of humble birth to the enjoyment of wealth and honours. But Antonius and Lepidus, wishing to continue the system of military usurpation, and having been deservedly declared public enemies, were anxious to exterminate all those who were zealously attached to the constitution of their country; while Augustus, hoping to inherit his uncle's sovereignty as well as his name and private fortune, and animated besides with that inveteracy which men naturally feel against a cause which they have deserted and betrayed, longed to destroy, if possible, the whole of the aristocratical party, that his way to the throne might be cleared from all impediments. His conduct, accordingly, was marked by peculiar traits of malignity and hard-heartedness. We have already mentioned that he himself was not known to spare a single victim of those whom he had marked out for death; and he opposed every inclination to clemency in his associates. When the proscription was ended[235], Lepidus, in a speech to the senate, made something of an apology for what was past, and said that henceforth such instances of severity would not be repeated, as enough of the guilty had been already punished; but Augustus arose and

[235] Suetonius, in Augusto, 27.

added, that he had only closed the proscription as long as he thought proper, but without meaning to impose the least restriction on himself with regard to his future measures. When he thus spoke and acted, he was scarcely one-and-twenty years old. Had his whole after-life been marked by nothing but benefits to his country, no human judgment would be warranted in attributing his altered conduct to any better motive than the absence of temptation; for he who had once plunged so deeply in wickedness, must ever be suspected of being ready to do the same again if his interests required it, unless he could give positive proof that he regarded his former crimes with remorse and abhorrence.

The proscribed are sheltered in Greece, Africa, and Sicily.

Whilst Italy was overwhelmed by these calamities [236], three neighbouring countries afforded a secure refuge to all those of the proscribed who were happy enough to reach them. Many accordingly escaped to M. Brutus in Macedonia, and to Q. Cornificius in Africa; but a still greater number fled to Sicily, where Sex. Pompeius, in a manner worthy of his name, was exercising the most unwearied benevolence towards all of his persecuted countrymen to whom he had the means of extending it. We have already mentioned, that after he had been recalled from banishment, and the senate had resolved to pay him out of the treasury the value of his father's property, he remained for some time at Massilia, waiting to see the issue of the campaign at Mutina; and

Sex. Pompeius receives an extensive naval command from the senate, and occupies Sicily.

[236] Appian, IV. 36.

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unable to take the active part in it which he wished, because Cæsar's veterans, who were serving under Hirtius, Pansa, and Augustus, were unwilling to receive amongst them the son of Pompey. After the battle of Mutina, however, when the treason of Lepidus, and the suspected fidelity of Augustus, made it necessary for the senate to avail themselves of some more trustworthy aid, Sex. Pompeius was appointed to the general command of the naval forces of the Commonwealth [237], with an authority on every part of the coast, which, like that granted to his father in the war with the Cilician pirates, extended over the whole country within a certain distance from the sea. He had retained at Massilia part of the fleet which had belonged to him in Spain; and having speedily increased it after he had received his commission from the senate, he sailed to Sicily, deeming that island a favourable situation for his head-quarters, and the whole of it, according to the tenour of his appointment, being properly included within the limits of his authority. Sicily was at that time held by A. Pompeius Bithynicus, who had received the government of it from Cæsar; but it was occupied, after some resistance, by Sex. Pompeius, and when the proscription began, he was in complete possession of it. He instantly ordered his ships and smaller vessels to cruise along the coasts of Italy [238], to intimate their presence by every possible

His active benevolence to the proscribed.

[237] Velleius Paterculus, II. 72, 73. edit. Oxon. 1693. Appian, IV. 84. Livy, Epitome, CXXIII.

[238] Appian, IV. 36. Velleius Paterculus, II. 77.

signal, and to receive on board every one who applied to them for protection. To tempt the avarice of the soldiers employed in the massacres, he offered to each individual who should preserve any proscribed person, double the sum which the Triumvirs gave for his murder. To those who reached Sicily, he offered every consolation and relief in his power, supplying them with clothing and other articles of which they stood in need, and conferring on those of higher rank amongst them some command in his army or navy. Nor did he ever afterwards, from any selfish consideration, abandon them; but when he concluded his treaty with Antonius and Augustus, he expressly stipulated that all who had fled to him at the time of the proscription, should be allowed to return to their homes in perfect safety. It is delightful to refresh ourselves for a moment with a picture of power actively exerted for objects of benevolence: and to those who revere the memory of Pompey the Great, it is pleasing to think that as his conduct in the war against the pirates was a single instance of wisdom and humanity, amidst the cruelties of other Roman generals, so the virtues of his son afford the principal relief to that dismal scene of wickedness and misery which the party of his enemies were now exhibiting.

In the midst of the horrors of the proscription, the year 711 expired; and although the whole actual power of the state was in the hands of the Triumvirs, they resolved, nevertheless, to preserve nominally the usual offices of the Commonwealth; and accord-

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ingly, M. Lepidus and L. Plancus were named as consuls for the new year. Lepidus was to remain at Rome [239], and superintend the government of Italy; whilst his two associates, Antonius and Augustus, were to undertake the management of the war against Brutus and Cassius in the east, and against Sex. Pompeius and Q. Cornificius in Sicily and Africa. In Africa, indeed, the contest was speedily terminated in favour of the Triumvirs by T. Sextius, one of their officers [240], assisted by the power of Arabio, one of the native princes of Mauritania. Arabio's father had taken part with Scipio and Juba in the former African war; and had, on that account, been deprived of his dominions by Cæsar, and had seen them divided between Bogud, a Mauritanian prince in Cæsar's interest, and P. Sitius, the Roman exile, whose services to the cause of Cæsar, under very critical circumstances, have already been noticed. But about the time of Cæsar's death, Arabio returned home from Spain, whither he had fled to join the sons of Pompey; and by the aid of some African soldiers, who had been disciplined in their service, he expelled Bogud from his share of his father's territories, and procured the assassination of Sitius. The aristocratical party at Rome began to conceive hopes from this conduct of Arabio [241], and perhaps expected that he would support their cause with the same zeal which they had formerly

The Triumvirs obtain possession of Africa.

[239] Dion Cassius, XLVII. 338.
[240] Appian, IV. 53, et seq.
[241] Cicero, ad Atticum, XV. epist. XVII. Arabioni de Sitio nihil irascor.

found in Juba. But the repeated victories of Cæsar had impressed Arabio with a deep sense of the utter hopelessness of the cause of the Commonwealth; and he chose rather to purchase a pardon for his treatment of Bogud and Sitius, by proving to the Triumvirs that he was disposed to exert in their favour the power which he had seized from the hands of their partisans. Accordingly, he so effectually assisted T. Sextius, when the war broke out, that Q. Cornificius was defeated and killed, the wreck of his party dispersed, and the province of Africa became subject to Augustus without dispute, according to the terms of the agreement originally concluded between the Triumvirs.

They attack Sicily without success.

The contest in Sicily was not terminated so easily. Augustus was eager to gain the island, because the usual supplies of corn which it sent to the Roman market were now interrupted; and the horrors of a scarcity were thus added to the accumulated miseries under which Italy was suffering. But Q. Salvidienus, one of Augustus's principal officers[242], was repulsed by the fleet of Sex. Pompeius, when attempting to cover the passage of troops from Rhegium to the opposite shore; and the naval and military forces of the Triumvirs were all required immediately after in another quarter, to stop the progress of Brutus and Cassius in the east.

Progress of Brutus and Cassius in the east.

Since the defeat and death of Dolabella at Laodicea, which seems to have taken place about the end

[242] Livy, Epitome, CXXIII. Appian, IV. 85.

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of June, in the summer of the year 711, Cassius had been engaged in an obstinate, but at last successful, contest with those cities and countries of Asia Minor which had manifested their attachment to the cause of his enemy. After the fall of Laodicea, he had hoped to make himself master of Egypt, in return for the succours which Cleopatra had sent to Dolabella; but being pressed, it is said, by messages from Brutus [243], he abandoned his enterprise, and began to return towards the province of Asia. On his way he levied a severe contribution upon the inhabitants of Tarsus [244], and having enriched himself considerably, by this and many similar exactions, he met Brutus at Smyrna, as far as appears, about the middle of the winter [245]. Brutus had lately crossed over with his army from Macedonia, having constantly refused to listen to the pressing exhortations of Cicero and Decimus Brutus, who had urged him to come to the assistance of the Commonwealth in Italy, before the treason of Augustus had openly manifested itself. We cannot now decide whether he acted wisely or timidly in adopting a different line of conduct; but it seems impossible not to condemn the result of his subsequent meeting with Cassius at Smyrna, if the writers, whom we are now reduced to follow, have put us at all in possession of the real circumstances of the case, or of the grounds of the resolution which was adopted. Cassius [246], it is said, insisted on the

[243] Plutarch, in Bruto, 28. Appian, IV. 63.
[244] Dion Cassius, XLVII. 345.
[245] Plutarch, in Bruto, 28. Livy, Epitome, CXXII.
[246] Dion Cassius, XLVII. 346. Appian, IV. 65.

difficulties with which the Triumvirs were actually surrounded at Rome; on their want of money, and on the delay which Sex. Pompeius must necessarily occasion them by his occupation of Sicily; and, therefore, he urged the policy of employing the present moments in the reduction of Rhodes and Lycia, which were warmly attached to the party of the Triumvirs, and might effect a formidable diversion in the rear if left unsubdued, while Brutus and himself were advancing into Greece. No reasoning could be more opposite to the soundest principles of policy and military conduct; and if Cassius really argued in such a manner, he was a very unequal antagonist to generals who had been trained like Antonius in the school of Cæsar. The event was a memorable lesson on the folly of wasting time in war upon inferior objects, and of pecking at the extremities of an enemy's power, instead of striking at the heart. Rhodes and Lycia, indeed, were successively conquered[247]; but the power of the Triumvirs was in the meantime consolidated, their armies were in a condition to take the field, and they themselves, acting in the true spirit of Cæsar's system, were prepared to anticipate attack, and had already despatched a force into Macedonia, to fix the seat of war in the territories of their adversaries instead of in their own.

The Triumvirs send a force to occupy Macedonia against them.

This first division of the army of the Triumvirs was commanded by C. Norbanus and Decidius

[247] Velleius Paterculus, II. 69.

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Saxa[248]. Of the former we can find nothing recorded, but if he were of the family of that C. Norbanus who was proscribed by Sylla, and who killed himself at Rhodes, that he might not fall into the hands of his enemies, his connexion with the party of the Triumvirs was natural. Decidius Saxa was a Spaniard[249], on whom Cæsar had conferred the rights of Roman citizenship, and had afterwards caused him to be named one of the tribunes. He was with Antonius during the siege of Mutina, and is frequently mentioned by Cicero in his Philippics as one of his principal adherents. At the time when Saxa and Norbanus crossed over into Greece, there was no enemy to obstruct their progress either by land or sea, for both the fleets and armies of Brutus and Cassius were still employed in Asia. They advanced, therefore, through Macedonia, till they approached Philippi, a place favourably situated for intercepting the march of an army from the Hellespont towards Greece. The great plain of the Strymon is bounded on the east by a branch of the mountains known by the name of Pangæus[250], and which, running to the southward, nearly at right angles with the general course of the chain, is only separated from the sea by a tract of low and marshy ground, over which there was, at this time, no practicable road. The road, therefore, from the Hellespont to Macedonia, crossed this projecting branch of Pangæus by two

[248] Dion Cassius, XLVII. 347.
[249] Cicero, Philippic. XI. 5; IV. 105.
[250] Dion Cassius, 348. Appian, and XIII. 13.

mountain passes, before it descended into the plain of the Strymon; and a little to the westward of the passes it came to the city of Philippi, which was itself situated on one of the lower points of the mountain range, near the head of a small stream which flowed to the westward, through the plain, to join the Strymon. The two passes to the eastward of Philippi were occupied by Norbanus and Saxa; and in this position they hoped to check the march of the enemy, if he should return from Asia to attack them, until they could be supported by Antonius himself, who was to join them as soon as possible with the rest of his army from Italy.

Brutus and Cassius advance to Philippi.

Brutus and Cassius having effected the conquest of Rhodes and of Lycia, met again at Sardis [251], and thence resolved to carry their united forces into Europe. They were aware that a part of the army of the Triumvirs had already arrived in Macedonia, but they trusted, by the superiority of their naval force, to prevent the passage of the remainder; and for this purpose, L. Statius Murcus was sent with a considerable squadron to cruise off Brundisium [252], exactly as Pompey's naval officers had done before in the war with Cæsar. Meanwhile they themselves crossed the Hellespont, and advanced towards Philippi. And here again the impossibility of defending a mountain line of considerable length, against a superior enemy, was fully proved.

The positions of Norbanus and Saxa were impreg-

[251] Plutarch, in Bruto, 34. [252] Dion Cassius, 348. Appian, 82.

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nable in front; but one of the Thracian chiefs pointed out a way over the mountains to the northward of the passes [253], by which the army of Brutus and Cassius crossed without opposition, after a laborious march of three days through the woods, and appearing suddenly on the flank of Saxa and Norbanus, obliged them to retreat with great expedition, and to fall back across the plain of the Strymon, as far as Amphipolis. Brutus and Cassius then formed their respective camps on two hills, distant somewhat less than a mile from one another, and about a mile and a half to the westward of Philippi. Immediately to the south, or left of their position, the marsh began, and extended from thence to the sea. On their right were the mountains, the regular passes being probably covered by their own position, while they were likely to keep a watchful eye upon the more difficult tract by which they had themselves effected their passage.

The space between their two camps was secured by fortifications connecting the two hills with each other; their fleet was stationed in the neighbouring harbour of Neapolis to co-operate with them; and their magazines of every kind were placed in perfect safety in the island of Thasos, which lay just opposite to that part of the coast at an inconsiderable distance from the main land. Thus situated, and having all the resources of Asia in their rear, while their enemy's communications with Italy and the

[253] Appian, IV. 103, 104.

western provinces would be, as they hoped, constantly intercepted by the fleets of Sex. Pompeius and L. Murcus, they trusted to follow successfully the system which Pompey, under similar circumstances, had been unwisely induced to abandon, and to bring the war to a triumphant end, without exposing themselves to the hazard of a battle.

Antonius and Augustus arrive in Macedonia to oppose them.

But Antonius effected his passage from Brundisium with the same success which had attended him before in the very same place, and under the same circumstances, when he commanded the rear division of Cæsar's army, and joined his general on the coast of Epirus in spite of all the fleets of Pompey. After he had been blockaded for some time by L. Murcus, he sent to Augustus, who was then at Rhegium, requesting him to suspend his preparations against Sicily, and to employ his naval force in driving off the blockading squadron from Brundisium[254]. It does not appear, however, that the fleet which Augustus could spare for this service, was at all able to meet that of L. Murcus in battle. But the apprehension of being hemmed in in the narrow space between Brundisium and the little island which lay off the harbour's mouth, induced L. Murcus to draw off his ships, and to allow Augustus to join Antonius without opposition. The legions were then embarked on board of vessels such as were usually employed in commerce, and which were worked only by sails, while an escort of ships of war accom-

[254] Appian, 86.

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panied them, to be sacrificed, if needful, to the superior force of the enemy, in the hope that their resistance might at least allow the transports time to escape. But the wind, for some days, happened to blow so freshly, that the transports were carried across with full sails, at a rate which rendered it impossible for the enemy's ships of war, worked only with oars, to overtake them; and in this manner, we are told, Antonius and Augustus landed the main body of their army on the coast of Epirus without loss. Antonius instantly hastened to the support of Saxa and Norbanus, with an activity which rivalled that of his old commander, and which far exceeded, as we are told, all the calculations of his opponents [255]. We might wonder, indeed, why Brutus and Cassius had not followed upon Saxa and Norbanus in their retreat from Philippi, instead of allowing them quietly to strengthen themselves on the Strymon; but it is idle to attempt to give the military history of a campaign, when the writers, whom we are obliged to follow, have not recorded the date of any one operation or movement on either side. It only appears, that as soon as Antonius arrived at Amphipolis [256], he instantly moved forwards with his whole army, and encamped near Philippi, within a short distance from the enemy; and that here he was in a short time joined by Augustus, who on his first landing had remained at Dyrrhachium on account of illness, but not choosing to be absent from the

[255] Plutarch, in Bruto, 38.
[256] Appian, IV. 107. Dion Cassius, 349.

scene of action at so critical a moment, he hastened to follow his troops, as soon as he heard of the position of the two armies, and arrived in the camp while he was still too weak to discharge the most active duties of a general.

First action at Philippi. Autumn of 712.

In the present contest, as in that between Pompey and Cæsar, the army of the constitutional party was the more numerous, their naval superiority was undoubted, and their resources were so ample, that they could easily afford to protract the war. But on the side of the Triumvirs there were generals and officers trained in the school of Cæsar; these were the remains of his invincible veterans; and even the newly-raised soldiers, disciplined by the same commanders, and having before their eyes in their more experienced comrades such a perfect pattern of military excellence, were likely to emulate the good conduct of the veterans themselves. Antonius, therefore, was eager to bring on a general action, and finding that the enemy remained immovable within his lines, he endeavoured to make opportunities of fighting, by carrying a road through the marsh on the left of Cassius's camp, as if he designed to turn his position[257]. It appears that an irregular engagement was at last the consequence of these operations; for the details of which we can best rely on the narrative of Plutarch, as he appears to have copied from the memoirs of M. Messala, an officer of the highest rank in the constitutional army,

[257] Appian, 109, et seq.

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next to Brutus and Cassius. According, then, to the statement of Messala, the left of the Triumvirs' army, which was the part commanded by Augustus, was drawn out in order of battle in front of its camp, to effect a diversion in favour of Antonius. But the troops of Brutus making a sudden and unexpected sally, Messala himself, with a part of the army, turned the left flank of the enemy, pushed forwards at once to their camp, and carried it with little opposition; while Brutus, assailing them at the same time in front, broke them with great slaughter, and chased them back to their camp, which was already in Messala's possession. Meanwhile the centre of the Triumvirs' army, observing that the troops of Cassius had taken no part in the action, passed by the left flank of the victorious legions of Brutus, and attacked the left wing of the constitutional army, commanded by Cassius. Antonius himself, on the extreme right of his own army, was at the same time engaged in the marsh, in an attempt to take the cross wall which Cassius had carried out from his own camp, in order to intercept the projected road of the enemy. It appears that the veteran legions were all in that part of the army commanded by Brutus, and that the troops of Cassius were probably very unfit to maintain a contest with the disciplined soldiers of the Triumvirs. In spite, therefore, of all the efforts of their general, they were easily routed; their cavalry, instead of covering the infantry, fled in disorder towards the sea; and the enemy pursuing his advantage, not

only carried the cross wall in the marsh, but attacked and took the camp of Cassius. The prospect over the field was so obscured, it is said, by clouds of dust, that the parts of both armies which were victorious, were not aware of the fortune of their friends in the other wing; and when they were informed of it, both Brutus and Antonius returned to their own respective camps, and both parties, on the following morning, remained in the same positions which they had occupied before the action. But the hasty despair of Cassius gave to a battle, which was otherwise of doubtful success, all the appearances, and some of the consequences, of a total defeat of the constitutional army. When he saw his own legions routed [258], he supposed that all was lost, and could scarcely be prevailed on to despatch an officer to the other part of the field to learn what was the fate of Brutus. The officer, however, was sent, and Cassius, it is said, attended by one of his freedmen, watched his progress for a time from a hill on which he had taken refuge. He soon saw him met by a party of cavalry; then he heard a loud shout of triumph, and presently observed that the cavalry continued to advance towards the spot where he was, and that his officer was forming one of their company. Concluding from this that the horsemen belonged to the enemy, that his officer was their prisoner, or was, perhaps, now guiding them to the place where they might find his general,

[258] Plutarch, in Bruto, 43. Appian, 113. Dion Cassius, 354.

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Death of Cassius.

Cassius conjured his freedman to save him from falling into their hands, and instantly to kill him. The freedman obeyed, and fled; and presently after, the officer arrived on the hill, followed by the horsemen whom Brutus had sent to announce his success to his colleague, and who, on meeting the messenger despatched by Cassius, had shouted aloud to announce their victory, and turned him back with them, to acquaint his general with the happy tidings. It is added, that when he saw the body of Cassius lying on the ground, he immediately stabbed himself, and fell dead beside it.

The body of the deceased general was sent by Brutus to be buried privately at Thasos, lest the performance of the funeral solemnities in sight of the army should communicate some discouragement to the soldiers. Brutus himself resolved still, as before, to act on the defensive[259], and hoped that the enemy would soon be obliged to retreat from want of provisions. But a system which even Pompey could not steadily persevere in, was found much more impracticable now. The soldiers, and even the superior officers, grew impatient of the taunts which the enemy continually threw out against them; while the enemy were more eager than ever to fight, as their situation was greatly compromised by a heavy disaster recently sustained in the Ionian Gulf. Since Antonius and Augustus had effected their passage, L. Murcus had been reinforced by a nu-

[259] Dion Cassius, XLVII. 354, 355. Appian, IV. 123, et seq.

merous squadron under the command of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the son of that Domitius who had been one of the most violent enemies of Cæsar, and who was himself charged, whether truly or not, with having been one of Cæsar's assassins. With his fleet thus strengthened, Murcus soon after fell in with a large force of soldiers which Cn. Domitius Calvinus was carrying over in transports, escorted only by a few ships of war, to reinforce the army of the Triumvirs[260]. The weather was now as favourable to Murcus as it had been before adverse; for the wind suddenly dropped, and the transports were left becalmed and perfectly helpless, while the enemy's ships of war could use their oars with increased facility in the smooth water. After an obstinate resistance the whole of the transports were taken, burnt, or dispersed; and a force which had consisted of two legions, and a prætorian cohort of two thousand men, besides a numerous body of cavalry, was thus almost entirely destroyed. But these successes could not decide the general issue of the war. Brutus was at last induced, as Pompey had been before him, to yield to the wishes of his army: for latterly several desertions to the enemy had taken place[261], and he feared that his troops, the best of which had formerly served under Cæsar, might be persuaded, if longer suffered to remain inactive, to join the standard of the friend and adopted son of their old general. Accordingly he drew out his

[260] Appian, 115.

[261] Dion Cassius, XLVII. 355.

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Second battle of Philippi.

legions in order of battle, and was cheerfully met by the enemy, who already began to suffer serious inconvenience from want of provisions. The battle of Philippi was marked, according to our accounts, by no display of generalship on either side; but, after some hours of close combat, the superior discipline of the Triumvirs' army prevailed, and the soldiers of Brutus first began slowly to give ground, and then were totally routed. Brutus himself[262], being cut off from his camp, fled to a small glen or deep dell, at no great distance from the field of battle, through which a stream flowed between deep banks, occasionally covered with wood, and sometimes consisting of bare cliffs. He was accompanied by several of his friends, and amongst the rest by P. Volumnius, who from his love of literature had long lived on terms of familiarity with Brutus, and whose account of the close of his friend's life Plutarch appears to have followed as his principal authority. We may venture then to give the following particulars, as resting on the testimony of one who was present at the scene which he describes.

It was already dark when Brutus seated himself on a large piece of rock in the narrow valley, and looking up to the sky, which was bright with stars, he repeated two lines from Greek poets, one of which, from the Medea of Euripides, Volumnius still remembered when he wrote his narrative, and has recorded it. It was an imprecation, "that Jove

[262] Plutarch, in Bruto, 51, et seq.

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would not forget to punish the author of all this misery[263]." He was full of the thought of the many friends who had already fallen in the battle; and he particularly lamented the loss of Labeo, who had been one of his lieutenants, and of C. Flavius, his master of the works, who had been long one of his intimate friends[264]. Shortly afterwards he began to express his hopes that the number of his soldiers who had fallen could not be great, upon which Statyllius, one of his companions, engaged to make his way to the camp, to send up a fire signal from thence, if he found it still in the possession of their own troops, and then to return to Brutus. He went accordingly, and after a certain interval the fire signal was observed to be made; but Statyllius did not return, so that Brutus rightly conjectured that he had fallen in with some of the enemy on his way back, and had perished by their hands. This circumstance showed that it would not be easy to regain the camp, or to rally any part of the army that might have taken refuge in its neighbourhood. Accordingly, as the night wore away, Brutus was seen to whisper something successively to two of his attendants, and his words were observed to draw tears from those to whom they were addressed. He then spoke in Greek to P. Volumnius himself; reminded him of the studies which they had shared together; and plainly requested him to lend him his assistance in killing himself. But Volumnius re-

[263] Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὃς αἴτιος κακῶν. Med. 333.

[264] See Cornel. Nep. in Attico, 8.

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fusing to comply, and some one of the party observing that it would not be safe to remain any longer where they were, Brutus arose from his seat and said: "Yes, indeed, we must go hence; but it must be with our hands, and not with our feet." He then, with a cheerful countenance, shook hands successively with every one present, and declared to them the happiness it gave him to think that none of his friends had proved false to him. On his country's account he might justly, he said, complain of the cruelty of fortune; but for himself, he was even at that moment a happier man than the conquerors, inasmuch as he should leave behind him a character for goodness which neither their arms nor their treasures would ever procure for them. In conclusion, he conjured all his friends to provide for their own safety; and having said thus much, he left them, with only two attendants, and retired to some distance out of their sight. There, according to the general report, Strato, who was one of those who still remained with him, and who had been used to practise declamation with him, and to take part in his studies in oratory, yielded at last to his repeated requests, and turning away his face, held out towards him the point of his sword. Brutus having placed it exactly at his heart, threw himself upon it, and expired immediately.

Death of Brutus.

Meantime, whatever was the numerical loss of the constitutional army, many citizens of the noblest names in Rome had already fallen. M. Cato, the son of M. Cato of Utica, and L. Lucullus, the son

of the conqueror of Tigranes, are particularly mentioned[265]; while Q. Hortensius, the son of the famous orator of that name, M. Favonius, so long known as the friend and imitator of Cato[266], and M. Varro, who had been quæstor under Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul, and a relation probably of that M. Varro who was reputed the most learned of the Romans, had fallen into the hands of the enemy. When these prisoners were brought before the Triumvirs, they addressed Antonius with respect as an honourable adversary[267], but directed against Augustus the bitterest reproaches; as, in addition to the perfidy and cruelty which he had before exhibited, he had been guilty of some atrocious instances of cold-blooded barbarity to some other captives who had fallen into his power in the last battle. Yet Antonius was not more merciful to them than his colleague, and Hortensius, Varro, and Favonius were all put to death. To complete the destruction of the aristocratical party, L. Livius Drusus, the father of the future wife of Augustus, killed himself in his tent; and Quintilius Varus, having arrayed himself in the insignia of the offices which he had borne, desired one of his freedmen to become his executioner.

Dispersion of the aristocratical party.

The greatest part of the constitutional army rallied under the command of M. Messala and L. Bibulus, at a little distance from the field of battle, and was soon joined by several persons of distinction, who

265 Velleius Paterculus, II. 71.
266 Suetonius, in Augusto, 13.
267 Suetonius, in Augusto, 13.

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immediately after the action had taken refuge in the island of Thasos. Messala was called upon to become the leader of this last hope of the aristocratical party[268]; but he wisely considered all further resistance as hopeless, and preferred to submit himself and all his troops to the Triumvirs, on a promise of full indemnity for them all. The magazines of Thasos were then surrendered[269]; and the victorious generals, being now in fact absolute masters of the empire, concluded a new agreement between themselves, in which, disregarding Lepidus altogether, they made some new arrangements in the division of the provinces, and determined that Antonius, with the greater part of their army, should proceed into Asia, to organize that country, and to raise contributions in order to enable him to fulfil the promises which he had made to his soldiers; while Augustus should return to Italy, to superintend the division of lands there, and to establish the veterans in the settlements which they had been encouraged to expect. Meantime the officers of Brutus and Cassius, who had been left behind by them in Asia, now fled to L. Murcus and Cn. Domitius, whose fleet still remained unsubdued. But the battle of Philippi produced an universal derangement of the constitutional party. L. Murcus[270], with his squadron, joined Sex. Pompeius in Sicily, while Cn. Domitius acted for a time as an independent commander, and maintained his seamen, we must suppose, by forcible

[268] Velleius Paterculus, II. 71. Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 357, 358.
[269] Appian, IV. 136; V. 3. [270] Velleius Paterculus, II. 72.

contributions raised upon the people of the sea coast, or by acts of piracy upon ships employed in commerce.

In an evil hour for himself did Antonius turn his back upon Italy, and leave the immediate government of the capital in the hands of his associate. Augustus, still suffering from ill health [271], travelled slowly on his way towards Rome; whilst the population of Italy, who had already experienced his cruelty and rapacity, looked forwards with horror to the moment of his arrival, which would consign some of the finest districts of the peninsula to the occupation of a rapacious soldiery. How eagerly should we open the smallest volume of contemporary history, which might paint to us from the life the state of society in Italy, under the effects of this dreadful revolution! But not a single annalist of these times has reached posterity, and we must find our way, as best we can, with no other guidance than that of the weak and ignorant Greeks of a later age, whose testimony we have so often found worthless.

Augustus returns to Italy to superintend the division of lands among his soldiers.

It was not till the spring of the following year that Augustus returned to Rome, and found P. Servilius and L. Antonius, the brother of the Triumvir, in possession of the title of consuls. Antonius had been tribune three years before, and had then courted popularity by proposing divisions of land on a very extensive scale among the poorer citizens of

L. Antonius, the consul, opposes the tyranny of the army.

[271] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 358.

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Rome. He now saw a division on the eve of being made, which was to be still more extensive, and which was to benefit exclusively the officers and soldiers of the Triumvirs' army. So long as the aristocratical party was strong enough to excite jealousy, that union between the popular party and some ambitious military leaders, which had first been observed in the coalition between Sulpicius and Marius, had continued for the most part unbroken; but when the power of the senate was utterly destroyed, it was manifest to the most prejudiced of the popular leaders, that the liberties of Rome were at least as endangered by the usurpation of the army, as they had ever been by the oppression of the rich nobility; and that large proportion of citizens who, with all their turbulence and violence, were yet, in the main, sincerely attached to their country, perceived that all their hopes of a beneficial change in the political system of the empire were about to be crushed in a manner that seemed likely to render them for ever desperate. Besides, there were considerations of immediate personal interest which aroused the inhabitants of Italy in general against the Triumvirs. Their cities and their lands were to be torn from them, merely on the plea that it was necessary to fulfil the promises made by the generals to their army. If the people had been guilty of any crime in supporting the government against the rebellion of M. Antonius, it was a crime in which Augustus himself had shared; and again, since the formation of the Triumvirate, Italy had suffered much from the proscription on

the one hand, and from the loss of its ordinary supplies of foreign corn on the other, but had submitted to all its calamities without resistance. Under these circumstances, the contest which took place, nominally between Augustus and L. Antonius, may be looked upon in reality as a struggle between the people of Italy and the army; as the last effort made in defence of liberty and property against a military despotism. It is said, that L. Antonius and his sister-in-law, Fulvia, who was the partner of all his measures, at first quarrelled with Augustus, because they wished to have their share in the proposed distribution of lands to the soldiery[272]; and, also, that the promised rewards should be given in the name of M. Antonius as well as in that of Augustus. But the general clamours which prevailed throughout Italy against the spoliation of property, induced L. Antonius to espouse a nobler cause, and to oppose altogether the pretensions of the army. In Rome itself[273], and in all the principal towns of the peninsula, there were frequent and bloody engagements between the soldiers and citizens, which were attended with the destruction of a great number of houses; and as the pressure of scarcity began to be severely felt from the total cessation of all supplies from Sicily, robberies and disorders of every kind became common, till at last the shops in Rome were shut up, and the ordinary magistrates of the city, utterly unable to preserve

[272] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 359. Appian, V. 14.

[273] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 362. Appian, V. 18.

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tranquillity, gave up their offices, we are told, to pacify the people, who were indignant at seeing the semblance of government retained, when it had lost all its power of affording protection.

War between L. Antonius and Augustus.

L. Antonius now openly professed his opposition to the illegal power of the Triumvirate[274], as well as to the spoliation of the cities and lands of Italy. His brother, he said, was willing to resign the title of Triumvir, to see the lawful authority of the consulship restored, and to receive himself, in his election to that office, the reward of the sacrifice which he should make to his country's good. All ranks of people joined the standard of opposition to the Triumvirate with equal eagerness[275]; the nobility and the commons, the patricians and equestrian order at Rome, as well as the inhabitants of all the cities of Italy, took up arms against Augustus, and the system of military tyranny of which he was the leader. He himself, leagued with his soldiers to support their mutual oppressions, was obliged to tolerate many acts of violence and disrespect to himself[276], which his army, knowing their power, unscrupulously committed; and in order to attach them to his service, he plundered even the temples, wherever they were in his power[277], and thus added still more to the odiousness of his cause. But on the other hand, in proportion as L. Antonius became more evidently the head of a party truly national, so

[274] Livy, Epitome, CXXV. Appian, V. 30.
[275] Appian, V. 27. 29. 31.
[276] Appian, V. 15, 16.
[277] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 364.

the feeling of the army in every part of the empire was more interested to assist Augustus. Asinius Pollio and P. Ventidius [278], who were both warmly attached to M. Antonius, and who commanded such a force in Cisalpine Gaul as would have enabled them readily to turn the scale in favour of his brother, hesitated when they saw that his success was likely to put a stop universally to the overgrown greatness of the army; and although they did not actually take part against him, yet they allowed Augustus and his lieutenants to shut him up in Perusia, without making any effort in his favour, when he had advanced towards the frontiers of Cisalpine Gaul, relying on their co-operation. Abandoned thus to himself, and left to struggle against a veteran army, with only the feeble support of an undisciplined and unwarlike population, L. Antonius could only defend himself in Perusia till the provisions of his garrison were exhausted, and he was then obliged to submit to his adversary. He was himself dismissed in perfect safety, for it was not politic to exasperate M. Antonius at such a juncture by the execution of his brother; his soldiers also were pardoned, at the intercession of their comrades in the service of Augustus; but neither L. Antonius nor his troops were the chief objects of the conqueror's jealousy and hatred; and the true nature of the contest was shown by the choice of the victims who were marked out for destruction at

L. Antonius is obliged to surrender at Perusia.

[278] Appian, V. 32.

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Cruelties of Augustus.

the close of it. There were captured at Perusia a great number of Roman citizens of distinction[279], who had taken up arms for the restoration of their liberties and laws; these Augustus put to death without remorse, and on this occasion displayed again the same vile and unfeeling nature which he had shown in the whole course of his public life. Though he was only three and twenty years of age, he heard the prayers and excuses of his victims without the least emotion, answering every suppliant by a repetition of the words, "You must die;" and to show that he considered his triumph as gained, not so much over L. Antonius as over the liberty of his country, he selected three hundred persons from among his prisoners, some of the rank of senators, and others of the equestrian order, and ordered them all to be butchered on the ides of March, at an altar erected in honour of his uncle, Cæsar. To the citizens of Perusia he acted with equal cruelty; for they, in common with the people of the other Italian cities, had zealously entered into the war to save their property from military violence. He put to death all the magistrates of the town, and gave up the city to be plundered; and in the confusion thus occasioned, it was set on fire, and burnt to the ground.

Appearances of a coalition between M. Antonius and the people against the oppression

Towards the close of the siege of Perusia, P. Ventidius and the other officers who commanded the forces belonging to M. Antonius in Cisalpine Gaul,

[279] Appian, V. 48. Suetonius, in Augusto, 15. Dion Cassius, XLVII. 365.

made a show of marching to the relief of their general's brother; but their efforts were hardly more than nominal, and plainly showed that they did not enter sincerely into the quarrel. Yet the union between L. Antonius and the friends of the old constitution, seems to have brought about a temporary coalition between the remnants of the aristocratical party and the officers of M. Antonius himself; and thus Cn. Domitius, who still commanded in his own name a portion of the fleet which had belonged to Brutus and Cassius, and was cruizing with it in the Adriatic to intercept the communications between Italy and the opposite coasts of Illyricum and Epirus, was now induced by Asinius Pollio[280], to submit himself to the command of Antonius, on the assurance, probably, that Antonius was disposed to join with his brother in restoring the lawful government of the Commonwealth. And in the same spirit, when Julia[281], the mother of Antonius, fled from Italy, after the success of Augustus at Perusia, she was received by Sex. Pompeius in Sicily, and treated by him with every possible attention and kindness. Amidst all the cruelties and profligacies of Antonius's life, some traits of generosity were recorded, which might lead men to believe, that he had acted rather from personal resentment than from a deliberate design to enslave his country. Anecdotes in particular were told of his behaviour after the battle of Philippi[282], which contrasted strongly with

[280] Velleius Paterculus, II. 76.
[281] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 366. Plutarch, in Bruto, 50.
[282] Valerius Maximus, V. 1.

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the mean and merciless cruelty of Augustus on the same occasion. It might not be impossible that the affronts offered to so many of his near relations by his ambitious associate, that the example of his brother, and some sense of the innumerable miseries under which Rome and Italy were groaning, might at last awaken the better feelings of his nature, and urge him to atone, as far as possible, for the guilt of the proscription, by becoming now the restorer of his country's liberty.

Total overthrow of the national cause in Italy.

Meantime the war in Italy was brought rapidly to an end after the fall of Perusia. An armed force had taken the field in Campania[283], in defence of the common cause of liberty and property, under the command of Tib. Claudius Nero, a man of the highest nobility. Ten years before this time he had been much valued as a young man by Cicero, and had nearly become his son-in-law[284]; he had afterwards served under Cæsar in Egypt, and had been by him created one of the pontifices[285]; yet, after Cæsar's death, he had supported the party of the aristocracy, though without taking a prominent share in the events of that period. He now, after the surrender of L. Antonius, endeavoured to raise the slaves in Campania to swell his forces; but failing in this attempt, he was obliged to fly to Sicily, accompanied by his wife, and by his son, a child of about two years of age. His wife was Livia Drusilla, who was shortly afterwards married to Augustus;

[283] Velleius Paterculus, II. 75. epist. VI.
[284] Cicero, ad Atticum, VI. [285] Auctor de Bello Alexand. 25.

and his son was that Tiberius who in little more than fifty years from this period became the sovereign of the Roman empire.

Such was the termination of this brief contest, which consigned the people of Rome and of Italy to many centuries of helpless weakness. In this, more than in any other of the civil dissensions of the Romans, it was a direct struggle between the army and the nation; and the triumph of the army, in which it ended, was a much more serious evil to the state, than the victories and usurpations of any political party, or even than the tyranny of Cæsar himself. It committed henceforward the whole power of the empire to a mercenary standing army; and reduced all the other classes of society to that state of conscious insignificance in the government of their country, which most surely leads to the degradation of national and individual character. Literature may flourish under such circumstances, and the physical comforts of mankind may suffer at times little diminution; but the soul of civilized society, the power and the will to take part in the administration of the great system of national government, to watch over and assist in the execution of the existing laws, and at the same time to observe their deficiencies, and propose their remedies; the spirit of real liberty which distinguishes the citizen from the mere subject—this is totally destroyed; and carries away with it that practical vigour of mind which, when diffused amidst the mass of the people, under the guidance of sound principles, is

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Fate of the expelled possessors of lands in Italy.

the greatest earthly blessing of which mankind are susceptible. The siege of Perusia, then, may be regarded as an event far more really disastrous to liberty than the battle of Philippi.

After the victory of Augustus, the proposed distribution of lands among the soldiers was probably carried into effect in every part of Italy. The occupiers of estates or of farms, thus driven from their homes, sought, for the most part, we are told, an asylum in Sicily with Sex. Pompeius [286]. But great numbers wandered, it is probable, into the adjacent provinces [287], and there found settlements, we may conjecture, where their agricultural experience and industrious habits would make them valuable inhabitants. In this manner good may have arisen out of evil; and the civilization of Gaul and Spain, and that general dissemination of the Latin language which took place at so early a period in those countries, may have been accelerated by the desolation of Italy. There were others of the expelled Italians who repaired, it is likely, to Rome, and helped to increase the immense population of the capital; for the inhabitants of Rome were too important to be neglected; and care was taken by the government to provide for their maintenance, and even for their enjoyments, while the country of Italy was suffered

[286] Appian, V. 53.

[287] The Mantuan farmer, in Virgil, speaks of his countrymen flying to Africa, to Scythia, and to Britain; but these are only hyperbolical expressions to denote that species of exile in a less favourable climate, and a less civilized country, which was in reality, we may suppose, the lot of many of the poet's neighbours and friends.

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to remain in a state of misery. But at the actual moment of which we are now speaking, Rome herself was sharing in the common distress; for the fleets of Sex. Pompeius still blockaded all the ports, and intercepted the supplies on which her subsistence depended.

Return of Antonius to Italy.

Meantime M. Antonius had been recalled from Asia by the tidings of hostilities in Italy, and it is said was induced actually to form an alliance with Sex. Pompeius, in his dread of the ambition and ascendancy of Augustus. On his arrival off Brundisium he found the gates of that city shut against him, and he accordingly laid siege to it[288]; while his alliance with Sex. Pompeius, and the accession of force which he had lately gained through the submission of Cn. Domitius, gave him the undisputed dominion of the sea. But we hear nothing of his entering into the views of his brother Lucius; and his quarrel with Augustus now seems to have been of the same kind with his final contest with him a few years later, a mere struggle for dominion between two military leaders, in which the nation had no other interest than as far as it would decide which should be sovereign. On the present occasion, however, the veteran soldiers were strongly averse to a war between Cæsar's oldest associate and his nephew, which would tend, perhaps, to raise a son of Pompey on the ruins of their common cause. Accordingly the mutual friends of the two generals endeavoured

[288] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 373. Appian, V. 56.

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Peace of Brundisium. U.C. 713.

to bring about a reconciliation; and C. Mecænas was despatched by Augustus to Brundisium [289], together with L. Cocceius, a common friend to both parties, to settle all their differences. The death of Fulvia [290], the wife of Antonius, which happened about this time, removed, it is said, one obstacle to peace, and suggested the plan of cementing the union of the Triumvirs by the marriage of Antonius with Octavia, the sister of Augustus. In other points it was agreed, that all the provinces eastward of the Ionian Gulf [291] should be held by Antonius, and those to the westward of the same boundary by Augustus; that both the Triumvirs might equally raise recruits for their armies in Italy; that Lepidus should be left in possession of Africa; and that Antonius should afford no protection to Sex. Pompeius against Augustus.

The peace of Brundisium was celebrated by both the Triumvirs with the ceremony of the smaller triumph or ovation [292]; and the marriage which had been agreed on between Antonius and Octavia, was soon after concluded. The people of Rome [293], meanwhile, finding their usual supplies of provisions still intercepted by the fleets of Sex. Pompeius, were clamorous against the Triumvirs for not relieving them from this evil; and Antonius, probably ashamed

[289] Horace, Sat. 1. 5. Appian, V. 64.

[290] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 374. Plutarch, in Antonio, 30.

[291] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 374. Appian, 65. Plutarch, in Antonio, 30.

[292] Fasti Capitolini, apud Sigonium.

[293] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 375, 376. Velleius Paterculus, II. 77.

of having deserted Pompeius, was desirous of including him in the general peace. Accordingly, after some preparatory correspondence, the Triumvirs and Pompeius met at Misenum [294], on the coast of Campania, and there concluded a treaty, by which Pompeius was to hold the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and the province of Achaia, for the same period as the Triumvirs should retain the command of the other provinces of the empire. It was agreed, besides, that he should be allowed to hold the office of consul without appearing personally at Rome; that he should be appointed a member of the college of augurs; and that the sum of about 565,104*l.* should be given to him as a compensation for his father's property which had been confiscated. Pompeius, on his part, was to withdraw his garrisons from all the ports which he occupied on the coasts of Italy; he was not to add to the actual number of his ships, nor receive any deserters from the service of the Triumvirs; and he was to allow the usual tribute of corn to be sent from his provinces to Rome. But the stipulation which reflected most honour on Pompeius, was that in which it was agreed that all persons who had fled from Italy during the proscription, should be allowed to return in perfect safety, and should recover a fourth part of their forfeited property; that all others, who had any reason to dread the resentment of the Triumvirs, should enjoy a general amnesty; and those whose

[294] Velleius Paterculus, II. 77. Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 378. Plutarch, in Antonio, 32. Appian, V. 72.

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property had been confiscated should receive back its full value. The assassins of Cæsar were alone exempted; but most of these, probably, had already perished; and Cn. Domitius, who had at least the reputation of belonging to their number, was not only freed from all personal danger by his previous submission to Antonius, but a few years afterwards was raised to the dignity of consul. In this manner Sex. Pompeius earned the real glory of putting an end to the worst part of the miseries of the civil wars, and of closing that long course of banishments and forfeitures by which the late revolution had been accompanied. In the succeeding contests, the leaders of parties, with a few of their principal officers, were all who suffered on the vanquished side; proscription lists were no more needed, and the old constitution having been already effectually destroyed, there was no renewal of those scenes of general devastation which had marked the convulsions of its overthrow. Society began to settle in its new form, and to taste that tranquillity which, during the later years of the life of Augustus, was enjoyed so universally.

We shall make no apology for passing briefly over the events of the eight following years which intervened between the peace concluded with Sex. Pompeius, and the final contest between Augustus and Antonius. When we can copy the narrative of a good contemporary historian, the most ordinary times deserve attention; but when we can only follow the compilations of writers of a distant age, from whom

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it is vain to expect a faithful picture of the physical condition of mankind, or of their opinions, feelings, and morals, during the period under review, there are many wars and intrigues which may be safely dismissed with only a bare outline of their origin and issue. Such, for instance, are the campaigns of P. Ventidius and of Antonius himself against the Parthians; the last war between Augustus and Sex. Pompeius, and the deposition of Lepidus from that scanty share of dominion which he had till then been suffered to retain.

War in the eastern provinces. The Parthians overrun Syria, Cilicia, and Asia.

Before the battle of Philippi, Brutus and Cassius had despatched an officer to the Parthian court[295] to solicit the assistance of that power. The officer employed on this mission was a son of T. Labienus, of that general who alone in Cæsar's army had remembered his duty to his country, and had left the standard under which he had gained so many laurels, as soon as it became dishonoured by the guilt of rebellion. His son, the younger Labienus, found the Parthian court unwilling to give him a decisive answer, and in this manner the time passed away, till Brutus and Cassius had perished, and the aristocratical party was utterly ruined. Labienus, foreseeing that his return to his own country was now hopeless, continued to remain in Parthia; and when it was known that M. Antonius had abandoned all

[295] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 371, et seq. Velleius Paterculus, II. 78. Livy, Epitome, CXXVII.

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public business for the society of Cleopatra in Egypt, and that Augustus was engrossed in Italy with the struggle between the army and the people, Labienus prevailed on the Parthian king to seize the favourable moment and attack the Roman empire. A large Parthian army was intrusted to his guidance, and with this he suddenly invaded Syria. Many of the Roman troops in that province had served under Brutus and Cassius, and had passed under the standard of Antonius after the battle of Philippi; and these now immediately joined Labienus. Thus strengthened, he was enabled to give battle to Decidius Saxa, whom Antonius had made his lieutenant in Syria, and totally defeated him. The conquest of all Syria and Palestine, with the exception of the single city of Tyre, was the result of this victory; after which, Pacorus, the son of the Parthian king, remained in the conquered provinces with a part of the army, while Labienus, with the other part, advanced into Cilicia. There was no force capable of resisting him, so that he not only occupied the whole of Cilicia, but attacked the province of Asia, obliged L. Plancus, the governor of the province, to retire to one of the islands of the Ægean, and made himself master of all the cities on the continent, except Stratonicea, which he besieged for a long time in vain. Yet the contest between Augustus and L. Antonius in Italy seemed of more urgent importance to M. Antonius than even the recovery of the eastern provinces; and, accordingly, as we

have seen, he hastened to return to Italy, and Labienus was left in the undisturbed possession of his conquests till after the conclusion of the treaty between the Triumvirs and Sex. Pompeius, in the year 714.

They are driven out of all their conquests by P. Ventidius.

Immediately after that treaty [296], Antonius crossed over into Greece, and despatched P. Ventidius before him into Asia, to attack Labienus. The fortune of that officer was as rapid in its ebb as it had been in its flood; he was surprised, and driven out of the province of Asia almost without resistance; then, having halted on the frontiers of Cilicia, and being reinforced by the Parthians, he was attacked by Ventidius, and his army defeated and dispersed. He himself fled in disguise, but was discovered soon after, and, as it seems, put to death [297]. Cilicia was thus recovered, and a second victory over the Parthians in Syria put the Romans again in possession of all their former dominions, except the town of Aradus, which, being exceedingly strong in its natural situation, was long and obstinately defended [298]. It was in the following year, while Antonius was still lingering in Greece, that Pacorus, the son of the Parthian king, made a second attempt to reconquer

[296] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 380. Plutarch, in Antonio, 33.

[297] "Extinctus est virtute et ductu Ventidii," are the words of Paterculus: "P. Ventidius Parthos, prælio victos, Syriâ expulit, Labieno eorum duce occiso," is the account of the epitomizer of Livy. But as it appears from the more detailed and seemingly probable account of Dion Cassius, that Labienus was not killed in the field, but was made prisoner, his death seems to have taken place in the manner described in the text, and not in battle.

[298] Strabo, XVI. 873, edit. Xyland.

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Syria, and was defeated and slain by Ventidius in a battle which the Romans dwelt on with peculiar delight, as a retaliation for the defeat and death of Crassus.

Renewal of the war between Augustus and Sex. Pompeius.

Augustus, probably, was by this time well aware of the little danger he had to apprehend from the character of Antonius; and he commenced accordingly, his attacks upon Sex. Pompeius, in order to make himself sole sovereign of the western provinces, in a spirit of undisguised ambition, which a more observant and active rival would have repressed by a timely resistance. He at this time received into his service a man of the name of Menas[299], one of the ablest officers of Sex. Pompeius, who being an enfranchised slave and a mere soldier of fortune, was tempted easily to follow a master so much more powerful than his old one. Menas, not content with his own desertion, gave up to Augustus the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, and an army of three legions, which had been intrusted to his command; and when Pompeius remonstrated against this breach of the treaty, Augustus answered him by complaints of counter-violations of it on his own part; accusing him of having built new ships of war, and of still encouraging secretly the commission of acts of piracy on trading vessels bound to Italy. It appears that some of the men taken on board of some piratical ships were put to the torture[300], and

[299] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 384, *συλλαβὼν ἐβασάνιζεν.* Appian, et seq. Appian, V. 77. V. 77.

[300] *Καὶ ὁ Καῖσάρ τινα λῃστήρια*

it was thus that the confession was extorted from them, that they were acting at the instigation of Sex. Pompeius. On the other hand, Pompeius complained that the exiles who had returned to Italy had not recovered the portion of their property which had been promised them, and that Achaia was not ceded to him; but that Antonius was draining it to the utmost of all its wealth [301], that when he gave it up it might be a useless acquisition to its new master. When we compare the respective grounds of complaint alleged by the two parties, and consider, besides, which was most likely to be anxious for a new rupture, there can be little doubt but that Augustus was the aggressor, and that Pompeius was in truth, according to the expression of Tacitus [302], deceived to his ruin by a mere show of peace. Be this as it may, the war was speedily renewed, and Augustus requested Antonius to co-operate with him in conducting it. Antonius, who was then in Greece, crossed over to Brundisium to meet him [303]; but not finding him there, he returned again immediately with so little apparent cause for his sudden departure, that men accounted for it according to their own fancies, and some attributed it to a superstitious alarm occasioned by a reported prodigy. Perhaps he was glad of any excuse for not taking part in the contest, and availed himself of some rumours respecting the progress of the Parthians

[301] Dion Cassius, 385. Appian, 77.

[302] Annal. I. 10.

[303] Dion Cassius, 385. Appian, 79.

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in the East, as a reason for returning instantly to his own provinces. Augustus, however, resolved to carry on the war alone; but his first attempts to invade Sicily were so foiled by storms and the resistance of the enemy, that he recalled his ablest lieutenant, M. Agrippa, from Gaul, to assume the direction of his forces, and began to make preparations for another attempt on a scale proportioned to the greatness of his power [304].

Treaty of Tarentum between Augustus and M. Antonius. U.C. 716.

It seems to have been towards the close of the year 715, when Augustus was greatly annoyed by the disappointment of his hopes of conquest in Sicily, and irritated at receiving no assistance from Antonius, that Antonius crossed over to Italy once more with a fleet, as it is said, of three hundred ships of war [305], which he seemed as much inclined to employ against Augustus as in his behalf. His honour and his interest, indeed, alike urged him to defend Sex. Pompeius; but his unsteady resolutions were liable to be influenced by any motive that could gain a momentary ascendancy over him; and on this occasion, his wife, Octavia, was as injurious to her husband's interest, by persuading him to peace with her brother, as she was a few years afterwards, when the affronts which she received from him became one of the ostensible causes of the last decisive war. Antonius and Augustus met at Tarentum; Antonius contributed a large portion of his fleet for the

[304] Dion Cassius, 387. Appian, 96.

[305] Plutarch, in Antonio, 35. Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 390. Appian, V. 93.

prosecution of the Sicilian war, and received in exchange two legions from Augustus to strengthen the army which he intended soon to lead into Parthia. Then, as the term of their Triumvirate was just expiring, they renewed it, by their own sole authority, for five years more; and to cement their union more strongly, a further interchange of marriages between the different members of their families was agreed on, but was never carried into effect [306]. When this new arrangement was settled, Antonius left Italy, to return to it no more; and consigning Octavia, as well as his children by his former marriage, to the care of Augustus, he immediately hastened into Asia.

Marriage of Augustus with Livia, the wife of Tib. Nero.

About this same time Augustus married his third

[306] The character of all these transactions between the Triumvirs is well given by Tacitus, in the following words: — "Antonium Tarentino Brundusinoque Fœdere, et nuptiis Sororis illectum, subdolæ affinitatis pœnas morte exsolvisse." Annal. I. 10. Augustus and Antonius were the exact counterparts of Louis XI. of France, and Charles duke of Burgundy; and the manner in which Augustus amused his rival, till he had cut off all his other opponents, brings strongly to mind the cautious observance which Louis showed towards Charles, till he had destroyed the count de St. Pol, and divided and broken the power of his own nobles, in whom the house of Burgundy might have found such useful auxiliaries. The cunning and calculating cruelty of Augustus, his wisdom in the choice of his servants, his skill in corrupting those of his rivals, the address with which he made his political talents supply his total deficiencies as a general, and his utter want of generosity and noble feeling, are all represented over again most faithfully in Louis XI.; while the violent and headstrong selfishness of Antonius, the cruelties in which he indulged from passion and resentment, the easiness with which he was managed by his adroit antagonist, that incapability of pursuing his own interest steadily, which rendered his military prowess so often nugatory, together with those gleams of a noble spirit which sometimes burst through the darker parts of his character, are qualities which the reader of Philip de Comines will recognise as distinguishing the unfortunate Charles of Burgundy.

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wife, Livia [307], who was given up to him by her husband, Tiberius Nero, although she was at that very time far advanced in her pregnancy. Into this act, indecent and scandalous even in the estimation of the Romans themselves, Augustus was hurried, it is said, by his passion for the person of Livia; and this union of mere sensuality with a temper of the utmost coldness and heartlessness, is by no means uncommon, and shows with what facility vices, apparently the most opposite, can exist together in a character totally unprincipled. We have already mentioned that the first marriage of Augustus with Clodia, the daughter-in-law of Antonius, originated altogether in political views, insomuch that he treated her with total neglect even while their connexion nominally lasted; and he divorced her when her mother, Fulvia, joined with L. Antonius in opposing his dominion in Italy. He then married Scribonia [308], the daughter of L. Scribonius Libo, and whose sister was the wife of Sex. Pompeius; and the second marriage was concluded like the first, from mere motives of personal interest, when he dreaded the union of Antonius and Sex. Pompeius against him soon after the siege of Perusia, and was anxious to form some connexion with those whose influence might be supposed to be powerful over Pompeius. But Scribonia's conduct, according to his own account, was exceedingly profligate [309], and

[307] Velleius Paterculus, II. 79. Tacitus, Annal. I. 10; V. 1.

[308] Suetonius, in Augusto, 62. Appian, V. 53.

[309] "Cum hâc etiam divortium fecit, pertæsus, ut scribit, morum perversitatem ejus." Suetonius, in Augusto, 62.

he chose to divorce her, it is said, on the very day on which she became the mother of his daughter, Julia [310]; though, as we are told that he was already enamoured of Livia, the guilt of Scribonia may be as doubtful as that of Anne Boleyn, whom her husband accused of infidelity when his own affections were diverted to a new object. It should be remembered, that when Augustus formed his new connexion with Livia, after having been twice married from political views, and having been twice divorced, he was still no more than twenty-five or twenty-six years of age.

Beginning of the Sicilian war.

The whole of the year 716 was employed by Augustus and Agrippa in completing their naval preparations. The Italians and the provinces were again oppressed with a fresh load of taxation to furnish the money that was required [311]; while the establishments of all senators, members of the equestrian order, and other wealthy individuals, were called upon to supply a certain number of slaves to man the fleet as rowers. It was on this occasion, also, that M. Agrippa converted the lakes Lucrinus and Avernus, on the coast of Campania, into harbours, in which the ships might be assembled [312], and where the seamen might be exercised at the oar in perfect safety, alike secured from storms and from the enemy. At length, in the spring of 717, Augustus commenced his operations, being supported not only by the fleet which he had received

[310] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 377.
[311] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 387. Velleius Paterculus, II. 79.
[312] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 387.

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from Antonius, but by the military and naval force of the province of Africa, which the third member of the Triumvirate, M. Lepidus, was to bring over to his aid. A force thus overwhelming could gain little glory by its victory [313]; but Sex. Pompeius bravely resisted it, and in one engagement totally defeated the enemy's fleet, commanded by Augustus in person, and reduced to the utmost distress the legions which, under the command of Cornificius had effected a descent on the coast of Sicily. They were, however, relieved by M. Agrippa; and soon after, Sex. Pompeius having been defeated by Agrippa in a general naval engagement [314], and being utterly unable to withstand the united forces of Augustus and Lepidus on shore, abandoned the contest, and escaped with his family and most valuable effects to Peloponnesus.

Sex. Pompeius is conquered.

Disputes between Augustus and Lepidus.

The moment was now favourable to Augustus for ridding himself of another rival. Some disputes had already arisen between him and Lepidus, because Lepidus naturally objected to that tone of superiority which his associate pretended to assume [315];

[313] Dion Cassius, XLIX. 392, et seq. Velleius Paterculus, 79. Livy, Epitome, CXXIX.

[314] The whole account of this battle, given by Dion Cassius, is almost a transcript of the famous description of the decisive defeat of the Athenians in the harbour of Syracuse, in the seventh book of Thucydides, 70, 71. We care little for the plagiarism; but it shows the manner in which the later Greek historians compiled their narratives, not giving authentic accounts of the battles or sieges which they profess to describe, but borrowing some famous passage of description from one of their old writers, and applying it, without scruple, to their own immediate subject.

[315] Dion Cassius, XLIX. 398, et seq. Velleius Paterculus, II. 80.

but the quarrel came to a height when the army of Sex. Pompeius at Messina surrendered to Lepidus in the absence of Augustus; and Lepidus saw no reason for yielding up to his colleague a force which had voluntarily submitted to himself. In this state of things, Augustus presented himself, with only a small guard attending his person, at the camp of Lepidus; and being allowed to enter without suspicion, he began to tamper with the soldiers of his rival, trusting that his superior power and ability would prevail on them to desert to him. But he was disappointed in this hope, and the soldiers of Lepidus, irritated by his proposals, fell upon him and his escort, and obliged him to save his life by a precipitate flight. When treachery had thus failed, he applied himself to open force, and bringing up his whole army, prepared to besiege the camp of Lepidus. Lepidus, destitute of all personal influence over his soldiers, saw them now gradually abandon him, and go over to his enemy; till at length, despairing of his fortune, he laid aside his general's dress, and, in a mean habit, betook himself to the camp of Augustus, and prostrated himself before his feet. With that nice discrimination which led him to shed no blood, unless it were for his interest, and to show no mercy towards those whom he respected and feared, Augustus merely deprived Lepidus of his power as Triumvir, and granted him the free enjoyment of his life and of his private property, while he put to death, with few exceptions, every senator and member of the equestrian order whom

Lepidus is deserted by his army, and deprived by Augustus of all his power. U.C. 718.

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he found amongst the followers of Pompeius, and either gave up all the slaves amongst his prisoners to their former masters for execution, or, if their masters could not be found, ordered them himself to be crucified.

Mutiny of the army suppressed by Augustus.

Immediately after these great successes, the army in Sicily [316], conscious of its power, began to mutiny; and finding that their demands were not listened to, the legions petitioned for their discharge, imagining that Augustus would be afraid to disband them, and thus leave himself exposed to the attacks of Antonius. But the example of his uncle's conduct in similar circumstances was not lost upon him; he professed his readiness to comply with their wishes, and first discharged all those who had served under him against M. Antonius at Mutina; he then dismissed every soldier who had been enlisted as long as ten years; but to these last he refused to give the rewards and settlements in land which they had expected, and by this punishment, and by declaring that he would never again employ any of the troops whom he should now discharge, he terrified the rest of the army, and made them desirous of continuing in his service. Having thus restored order, he proceeded to conciliate the late mutineers, by a display of his liberality. Besides various honorary rewards, and a donation in money, he assigned to them those settlements in land which they coveted above every thing else; and, to increase the value of the gift, he

316 Velleius Paterculus, II. 81. Dion Cassius, XLIX. 399.

purchased, we are told, a large tract of country in Campania, to be divided amongst his soldiers[317], and

[317] Dion Cassius and Paterculus, locis citatis. We have copied the statement of Dion Cassius, but without being at all confident of its accuracy. Capua, as we believe, became a Roman colony in consequence of the Julian law, passed by Cæsar in his first consulship, U.C. 694. But the soil of this part of Campania was so much coveted, that succeeding demagogues or usurpers were not pleased to be deprived of a means of bribing or rewarding their followers; and accordingly we find that M. Antonius, soon after Cæsar's death, planted new colonies in Campania, regardless of the rights of those already established there, and encroaching in particular on the territory of Capua. Cicero, Philippic. II. 39, 40. Appian tells us, that Capua was one of the cities which the Triumvirs gave up to their soldiers when they commenced their usurpation. Probably it was not a military colony, and its inhabitants might therefore have been ejected without scruple. But a colony of veterans seems to have been settled there, when Augustus divided so large a portion of all Italy amongst his soldiers, after the battle of Philippi. This colony, however, was capable of receiving a greater number of inhabitants: ἐποίκων ἡ πόλις πολλῶν ἐδεῖτο, are the words of Dion Cassius. Possibly the veterans who had been settled there had been tempted to serve again either under Augustus or Antonius, and many of them may thus have perished, either in the East or in the actions with Sex. Pompeius. Besides, the decay of these military colonies was often inconceivably rapid, from the habitual extravagance of the soldiers and their ignorance of farming; so that they soon parted with their shares, and were eager to go to the wars again, to entitle themselves to a new division of spoil. But it was competent to the government to fill up the numbers of colonies thus diminished; "Colonos novos adscribi posse," Cicero, Philippic. II. 40, because the state never lost its right of re-entering into the possession of its demesne lands, if the tenants to whom they had been granted, or their heirs, ceased to occupy them. According to Dion Cassius, however, we must suppose that Augustus gave the revenues in Crete to the old colonists of Capua, as a compensation for the land which he reclaimed, for the purposes of the state, in Campania, and which may have come into their hands as the shareholders dropped off, in the same way that the national lands were so often usurped of old by the rich citizens, as the small landholders became obliged to part with their shares. But if we could be sure that Dion Cassius had copied his account from Velleius Paterculus—and certainly the passages strongly resemble one another—we should think that he had misunderstood the writer whom he was following, and that Paterculus had meant to say, that the revenues in Crete were given to the Roman treasury as a compensation for the loss of the Campanian rents, which were at all times so valuable a part of the revenue, and which were con-

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repaid the former colonists of Capua by a grant of a larger revenue arising from some lands in Crete. Before he returned to Rome, he was desirous of crossing over into Africa, to superintend the settlement of that province, which, on the deposition of Lepidus, had submitted to his authority without resistance; but he was prevented by a continuance of stormy weather [318]; and thus, it is said, Africa and Sardinia were the only provinces in the empire which in the course of his life he never visited.

Honours paid to Augustus on his return to Italy.

He returned to Italy in time to check a rising insurrection in Tuscany; this is all that Dion Cassius tells us [319]; nor have we any means of estimating the magnitude of the danger from which his timely victory in Sicily had delivered him. But, as it was, he found nothing in Italy but an excess of servility. He seemed already to be regarded as the sovereign of the empire; for he had for some years resided amidst the Romans, while Antonius was engaged in distant wars, or had been revelling in Greece and in Egypt; and now Antonius appeared to be altogether forgotten, while the senate, if we may still call it by that name, was lavishing on Augustus those exces-

stantly paid by the small farmers who cultivated those parts of the national lands, which had not yet been divided out as colonies. See Cicero, de Lege Agrariâ, Orat. II. 30, 31.

We should apologize, perhaps, to the general reader for this long and unsatisfactory note; but if any person, well conversant with Roman history, should peruse these pages, the statement of what is to us a difficulty may, perhaps, direct his attention more successfully to the same subject; and thus even a display of our own ignorance may possibly not be without its benefit to our readers.

[318] Suetonius, in Augusto, 47.

[319] Dion Cassius, XLIX. 400.

sive and odious distinctions which had before been heaped upon his uncle. As if in ridicule of its own flattery, we are told that the senate presented to Augustus a list of the different honours which had been voted to him [320], that he might either accept the whole, or select as many as he thought proper. It is said that he chose the following: to enter the city with the ceremony of the smaller triumph, or ovation; that his victory should be commemorated every year by some days of solemn thanksgiving; and that his statue in a triumphal dress should be erected in the forum, on the top of a pillar ornamented with the beaks of ships. The dignity of Pontifex Maximus, which was held by M. Lepidus, was also offered to him; but as it could only be legally vacated by death, he refused to accept it; he was invested, however, with the more valuable character of perpetual tribune [321]; that is, his person was declared sacred; and to offer any violence to him was made as great a crime as to injure the person of a tribune. On his first arrival at Rome, he addressed the senate and the people successively in set speeches, which he afterwards published, and which contained a general exposition of his whole political career. He then promised his hearers the enjoyment of a state of peace and prosperity; and in some measure to verify his words, he remitted all the yet unpaid taxes which he had imposed for the support of the war with Sex. Pompeius, and gave a general discharge to all those

[320] Appian, V. 130.

[321] Dion Cassius, XLIX. 401.

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who were indebted to the treasury before the commencement of the civil war; but this last piece of liberality excited some ridicule, inasmuch as he made a merit of resigning what he had little chance of ever recovering. The system of audacious robbery which the distresses of the times had long fostered in Rome, he now took effectual measures for suppressing [322]; and by the establishment of a strong night patrole, and the appointment of an officer with those ample powers with which the special commissions even under the old government had always been invested, he is said to have delivered the country entirely from this evil in the space of a twelvemonth. Another of his measures rivalled in cruelty the sweeping massacres of Sylla, and was marked by a perfidy which was eminently characteristic of Augustus. Great numbers of slaves had enlisted some years before in the service of Sex. Pompeius [323], and when he concluded his treaty with the Triumvirs, it was stipulated that all these persons should be allowed their liberty, and might return in safety to Italy [324]. But Augustus, suspecting that they would cherish a fondness for the memory of Sex. Pompeius, which would make them disaffected towards himself, is said to have sent sealed orders to all his armies, with directions that they were all to be opened on the same day; and on that day all the freedmen, who had gained their liberty from the treaty between Pompeius and the Triumvirs, were

His perfidy towards the freedmen who had served under Sex. Pompeius.

[322] Appian, V. 132.
[323] Appian, V. 131.
[324] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 378. Appian, V. 72.

arrested and sent to Rome. Augustus then ordered them all to be given back to their former masters, or to their masters' heirs, if they belonged to a Roman, an Italian, or a Sicilian; and if no one appeared to claim them, they were sent to the cities in which they had lived in their state of slavery, and were there put to death. A somewhat similar act of bloody treachery is recorded to have been committed by the Spartans upon those of their helots whose spirit and enterprise they most dreaded; but while the Spartans have been ever justly condemned for this and other such deeds, the memory of Augustus has escaped the detestation which it deserves; and this perfidy and cruelty has been called, even by a modern historian, "a severe, but well-concerted reform [325]."

Last adventures of Sex. Pompeius.

Sex. Pompeius did not long survive this treatment of his old followers. When he reached the coast of Peloponnesus, he was joined by several

[325] Ferguson, V. 7. In this instance, as well as in the account of Sylla's massacre, which we formerly noticed, Ferguson has completely misrepresented the facts of the case; for he entirely omits to mention that the slaves were men who had served under Sex. Pompeius; that they had received their liberty by a solemn treaty; and that they were living peaceably, as far as appears, in Italy, at the moment at which they were treacherously seized. According to Ferguson, they were slaves who, having deserted during the civil war, were "taken into the levies which were continually forming by different parties;" and Octavius wished "to purge the army of a dangerous class of men by whom it was overcharged and contaminated." If, indeed, the freedmen, who had formerly served under Pompeius, had enlisted since their emancipation in the army of Augustus, it only enhances the atrocity of his conduct towards them; but it does not appear that they had done so, but rather that they were living peaceably in Italy on the faith of that treaty which had stipulated for their liberty.

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vessels which had escaped from Sicily; but despairing of continuing the war, he recommended their captains to provide for their own safety, and himself, with a very small force which he still retained, sailed for Asia, with the intention of requesting the protection of Antonius. He first stopped at the island of Lesbos, at that very city of Mitylene [326], in which his mother and himself, then a boy, had received his father in his flight from the battle of Pharsalia, and where the inhabitants still cherished with a fond regard the memory of his father's virtues. The kind reception which they gave him revived his hopes; at the same time he received tidings of the disastrous expedition of Antonius against the Parthians, and of the dissension between Augustus and Lepidus in Sicily. He is said accordingly to have played a double part, on the one hand endeavouring to win the support of the Parthians, and on the other soliciting the friendship of Antonius, when he found that he had returned from Parthia in safety. But we are told also that C. Furnius [327], who was the lieutenant of Antonius in the province of Asia, had shown an unfriendly disposition towards Pompeius from the first moment of his arrival at Lesbos; and that M. Titius, whom Antonius had sent from Syria to oppose him, on the first tidings of his hostile purposes, had formerly received kindnesses from him, which he had repaid by deserting his service and going over to Antonius. What provocation then

[326] Dion Cassius, XLIX. 402. Appian, V. 133.

[327] Dion Cassius, XLIX. 402.

these two officers may have given, or how far they may have misrepresented to their general the conduct of Pompeius, is difficult to say; but we are told, that Pompeius having collected a small force, partly from his own partisans, who now again joined him after their dispersion, and partly from that distressed portion of the population which seems in these times to have abounded in every quarter of the empire, and to have been always ready to follow any standard in the hope of plunder, began to act in a hostile manner in Asia. Some of his principal friends [328], and among the rest his own father-in-law, L. Libo, are said to have left him, from a conviction of the utter hopelessness of his cause, and to have made their own terms with the officers of Antonius. Pompeius himself was willing to surrender himself to C. Furnius [329], but this offer was refused; and he could not bear to put himself in the power of Titius, whom he considered an ungrateful traitor. But being overpowered by the force brought against him, and having in vain endeavoured to make his way into the interior of Asia Minor, he was finally taken prisoner, and, as might have been expected, was put to death by Titius [330], at Miletus. It is the more probable account that this act was committed without the knowledge of Antonius; but it was received by Augustus at Rome as a triumph won by his associate [331], and he celebrated it by rejoicings, and

He is put to death in Asia by Titius, one of the lieutenants of Antonius. U.C. 719.

[328] Appian, V. 139.
[329] Appian, V. 141.
[330] Appian, V. 144. Strabo, III. 150, edit. Xyland.
[331] Dion Cassius, XLIX. 403.

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by paying some public compliments to Antonius, while the people at large, indignant at the death of the last surviving son of the great Pompey, retained a strong detestation of Titius as the author of it; and some time afterwards, when he was exhibiting some games in the theatre of Pompey[332], he was driven from the theatre by a general burst of public feeling, as if one of the monuments of Pompey's munificence ought not to be profaned by the presence of the murderer of his son.

In the interval which followed before the commencement of the final contest with Antonius, we read of several wars carried on by Augustus and his lieutenants against the rude tribes inhabiting the Alps, and against the Dalmatians[333]; it is mentioned, also, that he now led the Roman armies, for the first time, against the Pannonians, who lived between Dalmatia and the Danube, and whom he attacked without any provocation, for the mere object of keeping his soldiers in employment. On his return from these wars to Rome, fresh honours were lavished upon him in the distinctions conferred upon his wife Livia[334], and his sister Octavia, whose persons were declared sacred, like those of the tribunes; and they were allowed the privilege of managing their own affairs without a guardian or trustee, whose agency was necessary to all women in legal transactions, as no female was supposed to be independent, or was capable of acting in her own name.

[332] Velleius Paterculus, II. 79. Dion Cassius, XLIX. 412, 413.
[333] Livy, Epitome, CXXXI. [334] Dion Cassius, XLIX. 414.

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First beginnings of the quarrel between Augustus and Antonius.

The Triumvirs had renewed their power for a period of five years, as we have already seen, from the beginning of the year 716; and the succession to the ordinary offices of the Commonwealth had been settled for eight years, when the Triumvirs concluded their treaty with Sex. Pompeius in the year 714. According to this arrangement, the Triumvirate properly expired on the last day of the year 720; and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Sosius were the persons who had been named as consuls for the year 721. Already were the signs of an approaching quarrel between Augustus and Antonius become clearly visible. Antonius could not be insensible to the great accession of power which his rival had gained by his acquisition of Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa; nor was this his only ground of complaint[335]; but he expressed his dissatisfaction that Augustus had appropriated to himself the military resources of Italy, which were to be divided jointly between them; and that in assigning settlements in lands to the veteran soldiers, he had confined his grants almost exclusively to those who had served particularly under his own standard. Augustus, in reply, taxed Antonius with having on his part occupied Armenia, and having brought disgrace on the Roman name by the treacherous murder of its king; he said Egypt was, in fact, become his province through his connexion with Cleopatra; and that his soldiers could not claim their share of settlements in Italy

[335] Dion Cassius, I. 419. Plutarch, in Antonio, 55.

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till they chose to divide, with equal fairness, what they had won themselves in Media and Parthia. This was a mere insult on the disasters of Antonius's late expedition into those countries; and there was hardly more weight in another accusation which Dion Cassius ascribes to Augustus, namely, that Antonius had put Sex. Pompeius to death, whereas he himself had purposely allowed him to escape from Sicily. But Augustus's main reliance was on the feeling of national pride which he hoped to awaken in the Romans, by representing his rival as one who had cast off his duty to his country, and was become the mere slave of a foreign queen. With this view every tale of the levities in which Antonius indulged in his hours of festivity with Cleopatra, and of the attentions and gallantries which he paid to her, was eagerly caught up and industriously circulated; and the public were taught to deplore the degradation of the majesty of the Roman name, because Antonius had assumed the character of gymnasiarch, or master of the gymnastic exercises at Alexandria [336]; because he had called Cleopatra his queen and sovereign lady; and because she had some Roman soldiers amongst her guards, and her name was inscribed on their shields as their commander and mistress.

Consulship of C. Sosius and Cn. Domitius. U.C. 721.

But the two consuls, C. Sosius and Cn. Domitius, were friends of Antonius, and as the Triumvirate was now legally at an end, the consular power might seem entitled to resume its ancient ascendancy.

[336] Dion Cassius, I. 421.

Accordingly, on the very first day of the year[337], C. Sosius delivered a speech full of the praises of Antonius, and of invective against Augustus; and he would have immediately proceeded to employ the authority of his office in some measure adverse to the interests of the latter, had not Nonius Balbus, one of the tribunes, interposed with his negative. But this revival of the legal government of the Commonwealth was, of all things, most unwelcome to Augustus; he returned, therefore, speedily to Rome (for he had absented himself purposely from the meeting of the senate, on the first of January), assembled the senate, and surrounding his person with a military force, and with a multitude of his partisans, armed, it is said, with concealed daggers, he took his seat on the curule chair, which he was used to occupy, between the chairs of the consuls, and after having spoken at some length in defence of himself, he uttered a strong invective, in his turn, against Sosius and Antonius. The actual presence of his soldiers intimated sufficiently that "the master of the legions" was not a person with whom it was safe to argue; no one therefore answered him, and he summoned the senate to meet again on a fixed day, when he assured them that he would produce written proofs of the unworthiness of Antonius. Meanwhile the consuls, followed by a considerable number of senators, left the capital privately, and repaired to Antonius; while Augustus, to avoid the

The consuls leave Rome, and repair to Antonius.

[337] Dion Cassius, I. 419.

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odium which their retirement cast upon him, pretended that he had himself allowed them freely to withdraw, and that he would not oppose the departure of any other friends of Antonius, who might wish in like manner to join him. It appears that Antonius had already begun to prepare for war[338]; and that both Cleopatra and himself were about this time in Asia Minor, while their land and sea forces were gathering together in the same quarter and in the Ægean. Here he heard of the proceedings which were going on against him at Rome[339], of the subsequent meeting of the senate which took place after the departure of the consuls, and of the language which Augustus used both in speaking and writing concerning him. Upon this he assembled a sort of counter-senate, consisting of the numerous senators who had repaired to him from Rome. After much debate, it was resolved that the war should be undertaken; and Antonius sent a formal divorce to Octavia, exactly as Augustus had divorced his first wife, Clodia, on the occasion of his quarrel with her mother Fulvia and with L. Antonius. But the notoriety of the connexion of Antonius with Cleopatra, made it appear that Octavia was rather sacrificed to his passion for the Egyptian queen, than divorced on account of his quarrel with her brother; and this also was used as a topic on which to excite the national pride of the Romans, by representing a noble Roman lady as dishonoured and despised by her

Antonius renounces his connexion with Augustus, and divorces Octavia.

[338] Plutarch, in Antonio, 56.

[339] Dion Cassius, I. 420.

husband, in order to gratify the jealousy of his barbarian paramour. CHAP. X. From U.C. 709 to 722, A.C. 45 to 32.

This feeling, indeed, was not confined to the Romans of the capital; even the officers of Antonius were disgusted at the evident influence which Cleopatra exercised over him, and against which their wisest counsels were sure to be offered ineffectually. They might conjecture, too, from the infatuation of their general, the probable result of the war; and thus L. Plancus [340], who had formerly made so many professions of fidelity to the old constitution, and had afterwards joined the Triumvirs, and procured from them the murder of his own brother as one of the rewards of his treason, now deserted the cause of Antonius. Accompanied by his nephew, M. Titius, the author of the death of Sex. Pompeius [341], he hastened to Rome to transfer his services to Augustus. Plancus and Titius had been deeply trusted by Antonius, and they now betrayed to his enemy every secret of which they were in possession. Amongst the rest they intimated to him the contents of the will of Antonius, which they had themselves attested, and informed him in whose care it was deposited. Augustus immediately got this document into his power [342], and with shameless baseness broke open the seals, and read the contents of it publicly, first to the senate, and afterwards to the assembly of the people. The clause in it which especially induced

He is deserted by L. Plancus and M. Titius.

They betray the contents of his will to Augustus, who publishes them before the senate and people.

[340] Dion Cassius, I. 420. Plutarch, in Antonio, 58.
[341] Velleius Paterculus, II. 83.
[342] Dion Cassius, 420. Plutarch, in Antonio, 58. Suetonius, in Augusto, 17.

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Augustus to commit this act, was one in which Antonius desired that his body might, after his death, be carried to Alexandria, and there buried by the side of Cleopatra. This proof of his romantic passion for a foreigner, seemed in the eyes of the Romans to attest his utter degeneracy, and induced the populace at least to credit the inventions of his enemies, who asserted that it was his intention, if victorious in the approaching contest, to give up Rome to the dominion of Cleopatra, and to transfer the seat of empire from the banks of the Tiber to those of the Nile. It is clear, from the language of those poets who wrote under the patronage of Augustus [343], that this was the light in which the war was industriously represented; that every effort was made to give it the character of a contest with a foreign enemy, and to array on the side of Augustus the national pride and jealousy of the people of Rome. Nor were these arts unsuccessful; insomuch, that the infamy of stealing and divulging the contents of a will was forgotten in the indignation felt by the Romans at

[343] "Antehac nefas depromere Cæcubum
Cellis avitis; dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas,
Funus et imperio parabat,
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum."—Horace, Carm. I. ode 37.

"Hinc Augustus agens Italos in prœlia Cæsar,
Cum Patribus Populoque, Penatibus et Magnis Diis,
Hinc ope barbaricâ, variisque Antonius armis,——
——sequiturque, nefas! Ægyptia conjux!
* * * * * *
Omnigenumque Deûm monstra, et latrator Anubis
Contra Neptunum et Venerem, contraque Minervam,
Tela tenent."—Virgil, Æneid. VIII. v. 678. 685. 698.

the preference shown by Antonius to Egypt, rather than to his own country; and it is said that the senate, as soon as they had heard the will read, decreed that Antonius should be deprived of the consulship to which he was to have succeeded in the following year [344], and of all his other authority as an officer of the Roman Commonwealth. His adherents moreover were encouraged to desert him by promises of indemnity and honours.

Declaration of war against Cleopatra.

At the same time war was declared against Cleopatra, and Augustus discharged the office of fecialis or herald, in going through all the usual ceremonies in denouncing it. But for a contest of this magnitude, immense resources were requisite; and accordingly Augustus imposed an income tax of twenty-five per cent. on all the free citizens who possessed any land in Italy [345], and a tax upon capital at the rate of 12*l.* 10*s.* per cent. on all freedmen who were worth fifty thousand denarii, or about 1614*l.* The inequality of these burdens was greatly resented by the freedmen, and numerous disturbances were the consequence, insomuch that it was supposed that the appearance of Antonius in Italy at that moment would have ensured him a complete victory over his rival. But whether Antonius was not sufficiently advanced in his preparations to risk such an attempt, or whether there was any failure of enterprise on his part, it is certain that Augustus was suffered to crush the discontents of Italy without any interrup-

[344] Dion Cassius, I. 421.
[345] Dion Cassius, I. 424. Plutarch, in Antonio, 58.

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tion. His fleet was assembled in the neighbourhood of Brundisium [346], and threatened the opposite coast of Epirus, about the autumn of the year 722; and Antonius judging it too late in the season to commence any active operations, fell back from Corcyra, to which place he had advanced in the hope of carrying the war into Italy before his adversary was ready to meet him, and passed the winter at Patræ, on the north-western coast of Peloponnesus. And thus having brought the two parties to the eve of the decisive struggle, we shall here pause in our narrative; and referring our readers to the history of Egypt [347] for the details of the Actian war, we shall hereafter resume the story of Augustus at the period when his ambition was fully gratified, and he was become the sole sovereign of the Roman empire.

[346] Dion Cassius, 424.

[347] Ency. Metrop.

## CHAPTER XI.

CAIUS OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS.—A VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF ROME.—FROM U.C. 722 TO U.C. 766, A.C. 32 TO A.D. 13.



From U.C. 722 to 766, A.C. 32 to A.D. 13.

If we were to judge of God's moral government exclusively from the various earthly fortune of good and bad men, there are few instances of successful wickedness which would more disturb our faith than that of the long and peaceful reign of Augustus Cæsar. Other usurpers have enjoyed till their death their ill-gotten power, but it has been beset by fears and anxieties; and the severity of their government has betrayed their consciousness of the real feelings with which they were regarded, and has proved that they could truly anticipate the sentence which after-ages would pass upon their memory. But Augustus reigned amidst the grateful obedience of his people; and the flattery with which his own court resounded, has been echoed by successive generations, till he has been habitually ranked amongst the best and greatest of sovereigns; and the period of his dominion has been considered synonymous with the highest state of civilization and public prosperity. Yet the man thus eulogized had shown himself

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capable of every wickedness, so long as his interests required it; and the merit of his later years consists only in that clearness of understanding which taught him that power, although most readily gained by crime, was most wisely exercised in promoting the happiness of mankind; and that justice and mercy, when they demanded no personal sacrifices, were only a means, as easy as effectual, of promoting at once his own security and greatness.

Augustus settles the government of Egypt.

The conquest of Egypt became a most seasonable source of riches to Augustus, and he availed himself of it to the utmost. It is said that, besides the immense treasures accumulated by Cleopatra[1], and the heavy forfeitures imposed on all those Egyptians who had served their queen with most distinction during the late war, a tax was imposed on the whole people of Egypt to the amount of two-thirds of their property, besides a heavy contribution levied on the citizens of Alexandria, as a ransom for the exemption of their city from plunder. In this manner Augustus, we are told, was enabled to pay all the arrears due to the army, and to discharge his obligations to those creditors who had lent him money for the expenses of the war; while at the same time he carried off a great number of magnificent offerings which had ornamented the temples of Egypt, and were now to be laid up in those at Rome. It is said, too, that after all the spoliations, the wealth and resources of Egypt appeared to him so formidable,

[1] Dion Cassius, LI. 455, edit. Leunclavii.

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that he was afraid to intrust that province to the charge of any man of rank or influence, lest he should raise up a rival to himself. He therefore committed the government of the country to Cornelius Gallus, a citizen of the equestrian order, and a person of very low extraction[2]; he would not allow the city of Alexandria to possess any municipal council; and he declared all Egyptians incapable of being admitted into the senate at Rome. At the same time he employed his soldiers in clearing out many of the old canals with which the country had been formerly intersected[3], and which had been for a long period choked up by the mud and sand deposited in the successive inundations of the Nile. He then departed from Egypt, passed through Syria, and thence continued his progress to the province of Asia, wherein he resolved to remain during the winter.

Honours decreed to him by the senate. U.C. 723.

The tidings of his final victory over Antonius and Cleopatra, arrived at Rome in the month of September[4], when, by a curious coincidence, M. Cicero, the son of the orator, was just entering on his consulship; for that office, which was now a mere empty title, was not held as formerly, for the whole year; but, in order to multiply the patronage of the sovereign, was given successively to several persons, each of whom only retained it for two or three months. Although it might have been thought

[2] Dion Cassius, LI. 455. Suetonius, in Augusto, 66.

[3] Dion Cassius, LI. 456. Suetonius, in Augusto, 18.

[4] Dion Cassius, LI. 456. Pliny, Hist. Natural. XXII. 6. Plutarch, in Cicerone, 49.

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that all conceivable modes of flattery to the conqueror had been already exhausted, yet the senate, on this occasion, was once more lavish of its honours to the chief of the victorious party, and of its marks of disgrace on the memory of the vanquished. All monuments in honour of Antonius were ordered to be defaced or destroyed; the day of his birth was to be held accursed, and no member of his family was ever to bear the prænomen of Marcus. On the other hand, solemn games were to be celebrated every five years in honour of Augustus; his birthday, and the anniversary of the day on which the news of his victory had reached Rome, were to be kept as days of thanksgiving; he was to be met, on his approach to the capital, by the Vestal virgins, the senate and people, in procession with their wives and children; and his power of protection, as tribune, to any one who appealed to him, was to extend to the distance of seven stadia and a half without the walls of Rome; and further, he was to have a privilege of pardoning any criminal, by giving what was called the vote of Minerva, when the number of the voices which condemned, exceeded only by one the number of those which acquitted. Finally, on the first of January in the ensuing year, the senators all took an oath to observe all his acts; and the gates of the temple of Janus were shut, as if Augustus, by his conquest of Egypt, had delivered the Commonwealth from every enemy, and had brought it to a state of perfect peace.

U.C. 724.

Meantime the cities of Asia, wherein Augustus

was passing the winter, were vying with Rome itself in the flatteries which they offered him. They professed to regard it as a great distinction, when he allowed temples, dedicated to Rome and to the divine Julius, to be raised at Ephesus and Nicæa [5], and two others, consecrated to Rome and to himself, to be built at Pergamus and Nicomedia. It is observed, however, that the care of the temples dedicated to Julius Cæsar, was committed to the Roman citizens resident in the cities wherein they were placed; while the charge of the temples of Augustus was given to the native inhabitants, or, as they were commonly styled, the Greeks. The Romans, it is said, would not, at this time, condescend to become priests in the temple of a living man [6], although they did not object to bestowing divine honours on the same individual after death. But the subjects of Rome were less scrupulous, and the example of the Greeks of Asia was soon followed, we are told, by the inhabitants of the other provinces of the empire.

Flatteries paid him by the Greek cities of Asia.

In the summer of this year, Augustus crossed over from Asia into Greece, and thence to Italy [7]. He lavished the treasures of Egypt so liberally on all classes of people, in donations to his soldiers, in largesses of 100 denarii, or about 3*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* to each individual citizen, and in paying all the sums which he had borrowed for the expenses of the war, that all his crimes and oppressions were forgotten amid

Augustus returns to Rome.

[5] Dion Cassius, LI. 458. Tacitus, Annal. IV. 37.

[6] Dion Cassius, LI. 458.

[7] Dion Cassius, LI. 458.

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the splendour of his munificence; nor did he give less general satisfaction by refusing the golden crowns which were offered to him, as they had been to his uncle, by the cities of Italy, and by remitting all arrears of taxes which were still due to the treasury. Such an overflow of money was at this time poured into the market at Rome, that the price of land rapidly rose [8], and the usual rate of interest was reduced to only one-third of what it had been before; the great mass of disposable capital making every one eager to become a purchaser of land as the readiest means of investing it to advantage, while all who wanted to borrow money were enabled to procure it on far easier terms than usual.

His three triumphs.

Augustus then celebrated his "triple triumph" during three successive days [9]: on the first of which were commemorated the victories gained either by himself or his lieutenants over the Dalmatians, Pannonians, and various other barbarian tribes of Germany and the northern extremity of Gaul [10]; on the second, his naval victory at Actium; and on the third, his conquest of Egypt. No mention was made of Antonius; nor was the late contest represented in any other light than as a struggle between the senate and people of Rome and the queen of Egypt. A figure of Cleopatra lying on a couch, intended to display the manner of her death, was carried in the

[8] Dion Cassius, LI. 458. Suetonius, in Augusto, 41.

[9] At Cæsar, triplici invectus Romana Triumpho
Mœnia, &c.—Virgil, Æneid. VIII. 714.

[10] Dion Cassius, 459; and Virgil, Æneid. VIII. 714. Livy, Epitome, CXXXIII. Suetonius, in Augusto, 22.

procession; and two of her children by Antonius, Alexander and Cleopatra, were exhibited among the prisoners. One striking change of the forms practised under the old constitution was remarked on this occasion. The consuls, and other magistrates of the Commonwealth, were accustomed to walk before the chariot of the victorious general; but now they followed in his train, in company with those senators who had served with him in his late campaigns, and were now sharing in the honours of his triumph.

The consecration of a temple, dedicated to Julius Cæsar as a demigod, soon furnished Augustus with an opportunity of further gratifying the people by an exhibition of different kinds of sports and combats. It is mentioned, that the hippopotamus and rhinoceros were on this occasion first hunted and killed in a Roman amphitheatre; and that large bodies of the Suevi and the Dacians, the former one of the most powerful of the German tribes, and the latter a people who occupied both banks of the Danube, in the lower part of the course of that river, were matched against each other, and practised each their national mode of fighting in real battle, for the entertainment of the spectators.

Conspiracy of Lepidus.

It was a little before this time, apparently, that M. Lepidus, the son of the late Triumvir, and the nephew of M. Brutus, formed a design to destroy Augustus [11]. The particulars of this attempt are not

[11] Velleius Paterculus, II. 88. Livy, Epitome, CXXXIII. Seneca, de Clementiâ, 9. Suetonius, in Augusto, 19.

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recorded: Paterculus charges him with intending to assassinate Augustus as soon as he should return to Rome; while the Epitomizer of Livy says, that he was meditating an open attack upon his power, possibly by endeavouring to draw away some of the legions from his service. But whatever his plans were, they were discovered by C. Mæcenas, to whom Augustus had intrusted the government of the capital during his absence, and Lepidus was arrested and put to death. His wife, Servilia, is said to have killed herself in consequence of his loss, by swallowing fire.

In the midst of his triumph, and when the sovereignty which he had so dearly purchased lay at length securely within his grasp, Augustus is said to have meditated an entire resignation of his power, and the restoration of the old constitution. This report, which is mentioned by Suetonius, became embellished in process of time with additional circumstances; and Dion Cassius, in the true style of a Greek rhetorician, represents Augustus as consulting his two friends, Agrippa and Mæcenas, on this important question; and ascribes to these two counsellors two speeches of immense length, in one of which Agrippa repeats all the old common-place arguments in favour of a republic, and urges Augustus to restore the authority of the senate and people; while in the other, Mæcenas, in a strain equally trite, recounts the advantages of monarchy, and presses his friend to retain the power which fortune had put into his hands. It is most impro-

bable that Augustus should ever have entertained a serious thought of sacrificing the prize which he had led a life of such surpassing wickedness to gain; although it is perfectly consistent with his character that he should have wished to spread such a belief among the people, and should appear to be reluctantly induced to bear the weight of government, from a compassion for the disordered state of the Commonwealth. We may more readily believe that Mæcenas suggested to him many of the measures which he now began to carry into execution, for establishing the new order of things [12]. He first turned his attention to the senate, which he proposed to reduce in its numbers, and to remove all those members who seemed unfit for their station, from their deficiencies in rank, fortune, or character; particularly those individuals who had procured their admission after Cæsar's death, by purchasing from Antonius a pretended grant of that honour by the late dictator, at the time when Antonius was availing himself of the possession of Cæsar's papers to gratify his own rapacity and ambition. In this review of the senate, Augustus chose M. Agrippa as his colleague, and after a considerable number of senators had resigned their rank of their own accord, to avoid the disgrace of expulsion, each remaining senator was directed to name one other whom he considered as most worthy to remain on the rolls. All those whose names found no place on this list,

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Augustus remodels the senate.

[12] Dion Cassius, LII. 494. Suetonius, in Augusto, 35.

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and all others whom the censors judged it expedient to remove, were then marked down, and obliged, it is said, to withdraw of themselves, although they were not allowed, like those who had resigned before the examination, to retain the dress of senators, nor their seats amongst those reserved for the senate at the public spectacles. Whilst carrying on this scrutiny, Augustus is said to have worn armour under his clothes [13], to have been constantly surrounded by ten of the senators, on whose personal strength and attachment he could most fully rely, and to have admitted no other senator into his presence without causing him to be previously searched, lest he should carry about him any concealed weapon. It is added also, that he deposed one Q. Statilius from the office of tribune [14], that he raised two senators to the privileges of the consular rank, although they had never held that magistracy, and that, following the precedent set by his uncle, he conferred on several noble families the dignity of patricians. But his jealousy of the nobility was shown by an order which he issued, forbidding any senator to leave Italy at any time without his permission, as if fearful of their escaping from his superintendence. In this policy also he trod, as we have seen, in the steps of his uncle Julius Cæsar.

Salutary and popular measures of Augustus. U.C. 725.

The ensuing year, in which Augustus held the office of consul for the sixth time himself, and chose M. Agrippa as his colleague, was marked by a va-

[13] Suetonius, ubi supra.

[14] Dion Cassius, ubi supra.

riety of acts, all tending to render the new government generally popular, and thus preparing the way for the scene which was soon to follow. In the first place, Augustus affected to revive the appearance of the old consulship [15], by treating his colleague entirely as his own equal. He amused the people with magnificent games of various kinds; he formed and opened for public use a voluminous library of Greek and Roman literature on the Palatine Hill; he is said to have borrowed money to enable him to make a large contribution to the public treasury; he issued four times the amount of the allowance of corn usually given to the poorer citizens at the public expense; he gave sums of money to the poorer senators, to enable them to bear the burden of the ædileship, and other expensive public offices; he burnt the accounts of all debts of long standing which were due to the Commonwealth; and made over to the possessors the full property of all ground in the capital to which the state maintained a doubtful claim [16]. It is mentioned besides, that he not only liberally repaired all the temples in Rome which needed it [17], but that he was careful not to efface the names of the original founders, nor to substitute his own as the restorer of their work. He also stopped the proceedings against all persons who had been long exposed to criminal prosecutions, and

[15] Dion Cassius, LIII. 496.

[16] Suetonius, in Augusto, 32. "Loca in urbe publica Juris ambigui possessoribus adjudicavit."

[17] Livy, IV. 20. "Augustum Cæsarem, Templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem." Dion Cassius, LIII. 497.

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whose cases had never yet been decided; ordaining, that if the prosecutors were resolved to continue their suits, they should themselves be liable, if the accused were acquitted, to suffer the same punishment which he would have undergone had he been found guilty. Above all, this year is mentioned as the period in which most of the disorders and abuses introduced in the course of the civil wars[18] were corrected or removed. Three of the most flagrant of these are particularly noticed[19]. The unsettled state of the times had introduced the practice of wearing arms for self-defence even in the streets and neighbourhood of Rome; and whole bands of ruffians, pretending to be armed only for their own protection, carried on their outrages with impunity. These were suppressed by a vigorous exertion of military force. By a similar system of violence, travellers of all descriptions were continually kidnapped on the roads[20], and carried off to private workhouses, where they were confined as slaves, and treated with the most excessive cruelty; but this evil was remedied by submitting all these workhouses to a vigorous search, and delivering all who were unlawfully detained in them. A third mischief was the formation of a vast number of societies or clubs[21], one of

[18] Dion Cassius, LIII. 497.

[19] Suetonius, in Augusto, 32.

[20] See the story of Atilius, ante, p. 221.

[21] Similar societies were frequent in Greece, and are described by Thucydides as the ready instruments of violence, and particularly of assassination in all political disturbances. Their object was to support their members when engaged in any civil or criminal causes in the courts of law, and to further their election when canvassing for any public office. See Thucydides, VIII. 54. 65, and his

the worst aggravations of the miseries of revolutions. These professed to resemble the old companies belonging to the several trades in Rome; but they were in reality mere combinations for the purposes of corruption or violence; and it was therefore a general benefit when Augustus dissolved all associations except those that were ancient and agreeable to law. When these salutary measures had won the favour of all classes of people, Augustus continued himself and Agrippa in the consulship for the following year, and then proceeded to execute the trick on which he designed to found the permanent establishment of his government.

He offers to resign the government, but is prevailed upon to retain it. U.C. 726.

It is said by Dion Cassius[22], that several of the senators had been prepared beforehand for the scene which was to take place, and these would not fail to suggest to the other members the behaviour which they were wished to adopt. Augustus then came to the senate and read a speech composed for the occasion, in which he expressed his intention of resigning all his power, and restoring the old constitution of the Commonwealth. We may suppose that such a declaration was heard by the majority with extreme surprise; many at once perceived its insincerity; but there were others, we are told, who, dreading above all things the restoration of the republic[23], were led by their fears to suspect that Augustus was in earnest; and these joined most zealously with the

character of such societies, III. 82, in that admirable passage on the seditions of Greece, which is a lesson to every age and nation.

[22] LIII. 497.

[23] Dion Cassius, 502.

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senators who were already in the secret, in deprecating a resignation which they said would be fatal to the empire. The senators who most regretted their ancient independence, joined perhaps the more eagerly in the general cry, lest they might betray their real feelings; and thus the proposal of Augustus was received exactly as he had hoped; and in consenting to be the despot of his country, he seemed to be only yielding to the national wish, and to accept a painful burden, which no other citizen but himself was able to bear. Yet that he might not lay aside the mask altogether, he refused to undertake the administration of all the provinces; and selected only those which were considered as requiring the most vigilant superintendence, and in which the presence of a military force was most necessary[24]. The portion of the empire which he thus consented immediately to govern, consisted of the whole of Spain, with the exception of Bætica, the limits of which correspond nearly with those of the modern province of Andalusia, the whole of Transalpine Gaul, Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, and Egypt. The other provinces were to be governed, as formerly, by proconsuls annually appointed by lot from among the senators: and even that part of the empire which was given up to Augustus, he declared that he would only retain for ten years, within which period he hoped that every necessity for such an extraordinary power would be at an end; and he

He divides the administration of the provinces with the senate.

[24] Dion Cassius, 502. Suetonius, in Augusto, 47.

added, that he would gladly restore his provinces earlier to the senate and the people, if circumstances should render it practicable.

The monarchy was thus established, and the senate laboured to invent yet additional honours to heap upon their new master. It was ordered that laurels should be planted at the gates of his residence on the Palatine Hill, and a wreath of oak should be for ever hung up over them [25]; the first denoting that he was ever victorious, and the oaken wreath, or civic crown, implying that he was the perpetual saviour of the lives of his fellow-citizens. It was debated also, what title of distinction should be conferred upon him; and it was then that L. Munatius Plancus suggested the name of Augustus [26], an epithet which was ordinarily applied to places set apart for religious purposes, and containing any thing consecrated by augury, and which was now offered to the new sovereign, as signifying that a more than human sacredness and majesty existed in his person.

He receives additional honours, and the surname of Augustus.

In this manner, at the age of six and thirty, did Augustus regularly commence his reign over the Roman empire. He retained his power during forty years, a period of general peace and prosperity, during which the wounds inflicted by the long continuance of the civil wars were gradually and effectually healed. To write the annals of such a reign, especially with our present scanty materials, would be but a meagre and unprofitable labour. We shall

Sketch of the contents of the remainder of this memoir.

[25] Dion Cassius, LIII. 507. Valerius Maximus, II. 8.

[26] Suetonius, in Augusto, 7. Festus, in voce "Augustus."

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rather attempt to give a general picture of the whole of it, and without pretending to detail the events of every successive year, to present a view of the external and internal state of the empire; of its relations with foreign powers; of the nature of the imperial government; of the condition of Italy and the provinces; of the physical, moral, and intellectual state of the Roman world during this most memorable period. Some notice of the family of Augustus, and of the person likely to become his successor, may then properly precede our account of his death, and serve to connect the present portion of our task with the lives hereafter to be given of the emperors who followed him.

Of the foreign relations of Rome.

The extent of the Roman dominion in the reign of Augustus was still below the point which it afterwards attained under Claudius and Trajan. Britain was as yet unsubdued, and a large tract of country between the mountains of Hæmus and the Danube was not yet tributary to Rome. But the empire embraced within its limits the whole of the Mediterranean; its eastern frontier reached the Euphrates; the conquest of Egypt extended its southern boundary to the cataracts of the Nile; while in Europe it possessed Spain and Gaul, together with all that portion of modern Germany which is situated between the Alps and the Danube. It is of little importance, however, to ascertain the exact line which separated the Roman provinces from the possessions of the independent barbarians. Even within the limits of the empire, the more recently

conquered tribes might create occasional disturbance, and afford some employment for the Roman arms. But as far as the knowledge of geography then attainable enabled them to cast their eyes around the world, the Romans could discover only two nations capable of offering an effectual resistance to their power; the Parthians in Asia, and the Germans in Europe.

I. With Parthia. Origin of the Parthians.

The Parthians, a rude tribe of mountaineers from the eastern shores of the Caspian sea, wearing large loose caps upon their heads[27], and armed with short javelins and bows of cane, marched in company with the neighbouring tribes of the Chorasmians and Sogdians, amidst that countless multitude of nations whom Xerxes led with him on his memorable expedition against Greece. Such is the earliest notice of the Parthian name which is to be found in history; the later fortunes of the nation, their subjection to the Greek kings of Syria, the foundation of their monarchy by Arsaces, and its subsequent progress down to the invasion and defeat of the Roman army under Crassus, have been related elsewhere[28]. We have also mentioned the attack made by the Parthians on Syria and Asia Minor, when T. Labienus, a Roman exile, conducted their armies; and have briefly noticed their rapid successes and equally rapid reverses; the victory gained by P. Ventidius over Pacorus, the son of their king; and, lastly, the disastrous attempt of M.

[27] Herodotus, Polymnia, 66. 64. 62. 61.

[28] Ency. Metrop.

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Antonius to invade their country, in revenge for the assistance which they had rendered to the party of Brutus and Cassius. Their empire, which had thus contended against Rome with more than equal fortune, now embraced the whole of Asia eastward of the Euphrates [29], to the most remote of those countries which were within the knowledge of the Romans. They numbered among their provinces the once mighty names of Media in Assyria [30]; and even Persia itself, the seat of the empire of the great king, although it still had princes of its own, was no more than a vassal kingdom dependent on the sovereign power of Parthia [31]. There were two capitals of the monarchy, Ecbatana and Seleucia [32]. The first, the ancient metropolis of Media, founded by Deioces, the earliest of the Median princes, was the summer residence of the king of Parthia. His winters were passed in the lower and milder country on the banks of the Tigris, where stood Seleucia, the former capital of the Macedonian kings of Syria. But Seleucia still retained a shadow of independence; its inhabitants, proud of their Greek extraction, language, and manners, would have associated ill with the guards and attendants of a barbarian sovereign; and in order to save the city from the burden of their presence [33], the court was accustomed to reside at the neighbouring village of Ctesiphon,

[29] Strabo, XI. 9, § 2, edit. Siebenkees.
[30] Strabo, XVI. 1, § 19, edit. Siebenkees.
[31] Strabo, XV. 3, § 3. 24.
[32] Strabo, XVI. 1, § 16.
[33] Strabo, XVI. 1, § 16. Tacitus, Annal. VI. 42.

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which was situated at the distance of about three miles from Seleucia, on the opposite bank of the Tigris. In later times, when the citizens of Seleucia were become obnoxious to the Parthian government, from having betrayed an impatience of its dominion, Ctesiphon was studiously favoured as a rival city, which might be made a national capital of the empire [34]; and thus it gradually increased in wealth and greatness, while Seleucia as gradually declined, and went to ruin.

Their internal state.

Our knowledge of the internal state of Parthia is confined to one or two isolated facts. Strabo expressly omits all notice of the subject in his geographical work, referring his readers to the information concerning it which he had given in some of his other writings [35]; and as these are now lost, his reference to them only excites our curiosity in vain. We can only discern in Parthia the existence of two orders, of the nobility and priesthood [36], each of which formed a distinct member of the great national council, and from either of them indifferently the kings might be selected. There was also that striking characteristic of the Sclavonic tribes, a powerful nobility, with the rest of the population consisting almost entirely of slaves. In time of war

[34] Pliny, Histor. Natural. VI. 26.

[35] Strabo, XI. 9, § 3, edit. Siebenkees.

[36] Strabo, XI. 9, § 3. *τῶν Παρθυαίων συνέδριόν φησι Ποσειδώνιος εἶναι διττόν· τὸ μὲν συγγενῶν, τὸ δὲ σοφῶν καὶ μάγων, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοῖν τοὺς βασιλέας καθίστησιν.* We have translated *συγγενῶν* by the word "nobility," supposing it to signify an extended clan or caste. The Achæmenidæ in Persia seem to have been an instance of a smaller class on a more limited scale.

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the nobles attended the king's standard, each bringing with him a large body of his dependants. These were not freemen, like the feudal vassals of Europe, but slaves [37]; they were, however, all carefully armed and trained as cavalry, for this constituted the whole strength of the Parthian armies; and the greatness of the chiefs was measured by the number of slaves which they brought into the field. The growth of an intermediate class of freemen between the nobles and their slaves, was checked by the law of the country, which forbade any master to give a slave his liberty; so that the highest and lowest classes of society seemed destined to exist alone, and in perpetual contact with each other. Probably, indeed, the evils of slavery were softened by the interposition of such wide distinctions between the slave and the freemen; as they must, on the other hand, appear more intolerable where the line of division is merely arbitrary, and the slave sees around him a number of freemen who appear neither in wealth, or birth, or condition, elevated above his own level. But when freedom was identified with riches, and power, and high nobility, it seemed placed completely out of his reach, and the absence of it was so natural as hardly to excite a murmur. Those revolts and mutinies, therefore, of which we have seen such bloody instances among the slaves in the Roman empire, appear to have been unknown in

[37] Justin, XLI. 2. This account of the Parthians seem to be copied from some trustworthy authority, and is consistent and sensible.

Parthia. None would have dared in Greece or Rome to enlist slaves into the army, much less to give them the same arms which were intrusted to free citizens; but the Parthian chiefs armed their dependants like themselves, and instead of trembling at any symptoms which they might display of courage and activity, they trained them carefully in all martial exercises[38], and beheld their proficiency with the same pleasure as that of their own children.

Transactions between them and the Romans.

At the period with which we are now engaged, a prince, whom the Greek and Roman writers call Phraates, was seated on the Parthian throne[39]. Having been chosen by his father as his successor, he is said to have secured an earlier enjoyment of the crown, by murdering both him and thirty of his other sons; and committing additional cruelties after his repulse of the Roman invasion under Antonius, he was driven from the throne by the indignation of his subjects, and a successor, named Tiridates, was appointed in his room. After some time, however, Phraates, by the aid of some of the rude Scythian tribes which bordered upon Parthia, recovered his kingdom, and drove his competitor into exile in his turn. Tiridates fled into the dominions of Rome, carrying with him the youngest son of Phraates, whom he had contrived to get in his power; and

[38] Justin, XLI. 2. He says that the army which repulsed Antonius consisted of 50,000 cavalry, in which number there were only 400 freemen; the rest was made up entirely of slaves.

[39] Justin, XLII. 5.

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offering this young prince as a hostage to Augustus, he requested his assistance to restore him to his throne, promising him to extend the influence of Rome over Parthia, if he were reinstated by Roman aid. Phraates, on the other hand, solicited Augustus to release his son, and to give up Tiridates as a rebel[40]. Augustus, more disposed to consolidate than to extend his empire, sent back the son of Phraates, and refused to assist the attempts of Tiridates, while at the same time he allowed him to live quietly in the Roman dominions. Phraates, thus finding that he had nothing to fear from Rome, and still suspecting danger from his own subjects, resolved to commit four of his sons to the care of Augustus, partly as hostages, and partly, we are told, to prevent them from being raised to the throne in his place[41], knowing that the Parthians would set up no competitor against him, unless he were of the royal stock of the Arsacidæ. Augustus received the Parthian princes, and treated them with the greatest kindness, bringing them up in the customs of the Romans, and instructing them in the arts and superior knowledge of Europe; he availed himself also of his friendly connexion with Phraates, to procure from him the restoration of all the Roman standards and prisoners which had been taken in the expeditions of Crassus and Antonius[42]. This supposed reparation of the greatest disasters

[40] Justin, XLII. 5.

[41] Tacitus, Annal. II. 1, 2. Livy, Epitome, CXXXIX. Strabo, XVI. 1, § 28.

[42] Strabo and Justin, locis citatis.

sustained for many years by the Roman arms, was especially grateful to Augustus; and there is no foreign transaction of his reign on which the panegyrists of those times have dwelt with greater complacency.

II. Relation of Rome with the Germans. Progress of the Roman conquests in Illyricum.

Nearly a century had now elapsed since the invasion of Italy by the Cimbri and Teutones; and notwithstanding the final destruction of the invaders, the Romans could not forget that several consular armies had been overthrown before Marius had been able to stem the torrent. When Cæsar first took possession of his government in Gaul, he found that the Gauls regarded the Germans with the greatest terror, as a people far more warlike than themselves; and although he destroyed the army of Ariovistus, and made a short expedition beyond the Rhine, yet the conquest of Gaul afforded him sufficient employment, and the Roman arms had as yet made no serious impression upon Germany. During the thirteen years which elapsed between the death of Cæsar and the battle of Actium, we read of a second expedition made by the Romans beyond the Rhine in the year 716, under the command of M. Agrippa[43]; but this had probably no other object than to chastise some of the German tribes, who had assisted the Gauls in a fruitless attempt to recover their independence. A more regular hostility seems to have been carried on against those numerous tribes who were included under the general name of

[43] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 387, edit. Leunclavii.

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Illyrians[44], and who occupied the whole country between the Alps and the Danube, together with the whole of the eastern side of the Adriatic, extending southwards to the very confines of Greece. Some parts of this extensive tract had indeed been conquered by the Romans at a much earlier period: a king of the most southern extremity of it had taken part with Perseus in the last struggle made by the Macedonian monarchy, and had paid for his offence by the forfeiture of his dominions; whilst the Dalmatians, who were thus brought into contact with the Roman frontier, were attacked twelve years afterwards, merely in order to find some employment for the Roman arms[45]. Accordingly, several victories were gained over them, which were the occasion of a triumph to several Roman generals; and the bounds of the Roman provinces of Illyricum were gradually extended. Yet the Dalmatians were persevering enemies; even in the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, they inflicted a signal defeat on Cæsar's officer, the notorious A. Gabinius; and after the establishment of Cæsar's power, we find P. Vatinius, the successor of Gabinius, complaining, in a letter to Cicero[46], of the tedious nature of the contest against them, and of the injustice of Cæsar, who seemed to expect that he should go through the endless labour of conquer-

[44] Cluverius, Vindelicia et Noricum, 1, forming an appendix to his Germania Antiqua. To the authorities there quoted may be added Appian, Illyrica, 6.

[45] Polybius, XXXII. 19.

[46] Epist. ad Familiares, V. epist. X.

ing the whole people, before he would reward him with the honour of a triumph. The Triumvirs, however, were more indulgent than Cæsar, for Vatinius obtained his triumph through their favour, in the year after the proscription [47], although the Dalmatians were still unconquered; and only three years afterwards, C. Asinius Pollio obtained another triumph over the same people [48], and Horace could speak of the "eternal renown" which "the laurel of his Dalmatian triumph had won for him." Again the contest was renewed by Augustus himself, who only four years after the victories of Pollio, engaged personally in the Illyrian war, and is said to have been wounded in an attack upon one of the fortresses of Dalmatia [49]. Under his command Pannonia was invaded and conquered; and as the Roman arms continued to advance towards the Danube, the countries bordering on the Adriatic appear to have been at last more effectually subdued; and victories became less frequent in Dalmatia and Liburnia, when they began to be won on the frontiers of Vindelicia and Noricum. After Augustus was established in the full possession of the empire, his sons-in-law, Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus, carried the Roman conquests into Rhætia [50]; and whatever occasional disturbances might still arise within that

[47] Fasti Consulares et Triumphi, a Sigonio editi.

[48] Fasti Consulares et Triumphi, and Horace, Carm. II.

Cui laurus æternos honores
Dalmatico peperit triumpho.

[49] Dion Cassius, XLIX. 412. Florus, IV. 12. Suetonius, in Augusto, 20.

[50] Livy, Epitome, CXXXVI. Florus, IV. 12. Suetonius, in Tiberio, 9.

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limit, the Danube became now regarded as the frontier of the empire, at least during the whole of its course through Germany.

Expedition of Drusus and Tib. Nero beyond the Rhine.

While the Romans were thus extending their conquests from the Alps to the Danube, they attempted to penetrate in another quarter into the very heart of Germany, and to advance their frontier from the Rhine to the Elbe. Claudius Drusus was first employed in this service, and afterwards his elder brother, Tiberius Nero. In the course of these wars more than fifty Roman fortresses were built on the banks of the Rhine [51], many of which were the first germ of towns still existing; and amongst these are to be numbered Mentz, Bingen, Coblentz, Andernach, and Bonn. A fleet also co-operated with the army sailing round from the ports of Gaul to the mouth of the Elbe; and the country was so far overrun, that Drusus had established military posts along the course of that river, as well as of the Weser. Had these successes been unchecked, the Romans would have permanently occupied the greatest part of Germany; the Latin language and the manners of Italy might have prevailed as entirely over the language and manners of the Germans as they did over those of the Gauls and Spaniards; whilst the Teutonic tribes pressed by the Romans on the Elbe, and by the Sclavonic nations on the Oder and the Vistula, would have been either gradually overpowered and lost, or at any rate would never have

[51] Florus, IV. 12.

been able to spread their regenerating influence over the best portion of Europe, to which the excellence of our modern institutions may in great measure be referred. If this be so, the victory of Arminius deserves to be reckoned among those signal deliverances which have affected for centuries the happiness of mankind; and we may regard the destruction of Quintilius Varus, and his three legions, on the banks of the Lippe, as second only in the benefits derived from it to the victory of Charles Martel at Tours, over the invading host of the Mohammedans.

It was in the year 744 that M. Claudius Drusus died in Germany[52]; and his brother, Tiberius Nero, was appointed to succeed him in his command. Tiberius is said to have conducted the war with extraordinary success; to have overrun again the whole country between the Rhine and the Elbe, and to have reduced it almost to the condition of a Roman province. But when he returned to Rome to enjoy a triumph, and to receive the consulship, the effects of his victories began to wear away, and the Germans soon renewed the contest. Ten years afterwards, when Tiberius had been adopted by Augustus as his son[53], he repaired for the second time to Germany, and employed two summers in retracing the ground of his former conquests, and in again terrifying rather than subduing the Germans into submission. On this occasion, too, the Roman fleet co-operated with the army, and again sailed

[52] Velleius Paterculus, II. 97. [53] Velleius Paterculus, II. 104.

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round to the mouth of the Elbe, and advanced some way up the river[54]. A succession of such campaigns must have produced a permanent effect; and the Germans would have been conquered as completely as the Gauls; for the Gauls had maintained an eight years' struggle against Cæsar, and none of their efforts had been so formidable as the last, when Vercingetorix had roused all the force of his country to contend with the Romans at Alesia. But as Tiberius was on the point of commencing his third campaign, a general revolt of all the Pannonian and Dalmatian tribes interrupted his career, and gave at this most critical moment a breathing time to Germany[55]. The main force of the empire was engaged between the Danube and the Alps; and the recent conquests of Tiberius between the Rhine and the Elbe were committed to the charge of P. Quintilius Varus, with an army of three legions. Varus had already been intrusted with the government of Syria[56], and in that station had made himself known by his exactions, and was said to have transferred to himself the riches of the province. In his command in Germany he seemed to consider himself again in Syria; he introduced the Roman jurisdiction into the conquered territories, and irritated the rude minds of the barbarians, by subjecting them to a discipline the most alien from their habits and character. But it is said, that in order to lull him into

P. Quintilius Varus commands the Roman army in Germany.

[54] Velleius Paterculus, II. 106. Dion Cassius, LVI. 582.
[55] Velleius Paterculus, II. 110.
[56] Tacitus, Histor. V. 9. Velleius Paterculus, 117.

a false security, the German chiefs pretended to receive with gratitude the institutions which he was introducing among them. They concerted quarrels amongst themselves, and solicited the arbitration of Varus to decide them, professing to admire the superior knowledge of the Romans, which taught them to settle their differences by the rules of equity instead of by the sword. Varus by constitution and habit possessed little of the activity of a soldier; the imaginary dignity of his situation, as the lawgiver and instructor of Germany, flattered at once his vanity and his indolence; and the licentious and rapacious passions which the Roman magistrates were so often accustomed to indulge in the provinces, began now also to look for gratification. Those profligacies which Varus might have committed in safety amidst the general relaxation of morals in Syria, were considered as the most intolerable outrages by the severe chastity of the Germans, who looked upon adultery with abhorrence, and regarded their wives as the chosen partners of all the dangers and labours of their lives. It is likely that the Romans, believing themselves securely established in the dominion of the country, began to offer without restraint those insults to the wives and daughters of their subjects for which the armies of southern climates have ever been infamous; and which in ancient days, from the low standard of morals every where existing, were committed with peculiar indifference.

In this state of things the plan of surprising and

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Conspiracy of Arminius, or Herman.

cutting off the whole Roman army is said to have been first conceived by a young German chief, whose name the Roman writers have corrupted into Arminius, but to whom we may more properly give his true appellation of Herman. He had served in the late campaigns amongst the auxiliaries of Rome[57]; and had been admitted not only to the privileges of Roman citizenship, but also to the rank of the equestrian order. He now concerted his measures with his countrymen with the utmost secrecy; while at the same time he did every thing in his power to increase the confidence of Varus, and to lead him into the snare which he was preparing. The Roman general had been persuaded to weaken his forces by sending detachments into various parts of the country, at the request of the German chiefs themselves, in order, as they said, to maintain tranquillity, and to secure the safe arrival of his convoys of provisions[58]; and on a stated day the insurrection broke out at a point most remote from his head-quarters; and he received intelligence that the people of the country had risen and massacred the troops which they had asked him to send among them. Upon this he instantly put his army in motion to chastise the insurgents, while Herman and the other chiefs of the conspiracy still professed the most entire attachment to Rome, and promised to join him with their own forces at a certain point on his line of march, that they might assist him in putting down the rebellion.

[57] Velleius Paterculus, 118. [58] Dion Cassius, LVI. 583.

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Varus, we are told, had been previously warned of the treachery of Herman by another German chief, whom the Romans call Segestes[59]. Herman had married the daughter of this chief against his wishes, and this private injury, added to his own attachment to the Romans, made Segestes disposed to save them from the destruction with which they were threatened. When he found that all his warnings had been slighted, he addressed Varus immediately before he commenced his march, and while Herman and the other conspirators were yet in the Roman camp, and implored him that he would at once arrest Herman himself, and all the other German chiefs who were present, as the only means of defeating their treachery. But Varus was obstinate in his incredulity; and Herman and his associates were allowed to depart, and put themselves at the head of their forces.

Varus sets out with his army from his camp.

The Roman army was impeded by an immense train of waggons laden with their baggage, and by a crowd of women and children belonging to the soldiers, who were permitted to follow the march, as the general would not allow himself to apprehend any danger. The way ran through an extensive forest, called by the Romans the Forest of Teutoburg[60], which spread over a considerable tract of country between the Lippe and the Ems. In the intervals, between the woods, the ground was broken and boggy, and the Romans had to undergo the labour

[59] Tacitus, Annal. I. 55. Velleius Paterculus, 118.

[60] Dion Cassius, LVI. 583, et seq.

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He is surprised on his march by the Germans.

of forming for themselves a practicable road, by clearing away the trees, and constructing a sort of causeway through the worst parts of the morasses. When they were already wearied by their exertions, and perfectly unprepared for any attack, the troops of Herman and his associates, who were to join them at this place, suddenly appeared; and rushing out from the woods on every side, assailed them with a heavy discharge of their missile weapons. The Romans, encumbered by their heavy baggage, and by the nature of the ground, were unable to form in any regular order to repel the enemy; they thus sustained a heavy loss without being able to retaliate; and having made little or no progress in their march, they encamped for the night on one of the most open and level spots that they could find amidst the forest. Here they destroyed or abandoned a great part of their heavy baggage, and the next morning again renewed their march. But they still had to contend with the same natural difficulties of woods and bogs; and while their own numbers were decreasing every hour, the confidence of success was swelling the force of the Germans; and many, who had at first dreaded to take any part in the conspiracy, came now to share in the anticipated spoils of the Roman army. It is said too, that the weather was exceedingly tempestuous, and that violent squalls of wind and rain impeded the movements of the Romans, and so drenched their clothing and their wooden shields, that they could not stir themselves or wield their arms. The result was the total de-

struction of the Roman army. Varus himself and his principal officers, most of them having been already wounded, fell upon their own swords, that they might not be taken alive by the enemy[61]; and the wreck of his army, having attempted in vain to secure themselves at the approach of night by forming a camp, and to shelter themselves behind the ditch and rampart, were persuaded by one of their surviving commanders to lay down their arms, and to try the mercy of the conqueror. But there is little humanity to be expected from barbarians when they feel that the moment is arrived for taking vengeance for a long series of insults and injuries. The military tribunes and principal centurions among the prisoners were slaughtered by the Germans as victims to their gods, before some altars raised in the adjoining woods; the common soldiers were hanged upon the trees, or stifled in the morasses; and the heads of many of those who had perished were fastened to the trunks of the trees as a trophy of the victory. Above all, it is said, the Germans felt a peculiar delight in torturing those of their prisoners who had practised as lawyers in the courts established by Varus[62]; they put out their eyes, or cut off their hands; and one man, we are told, cut out the tongue of his victim, and then sewed up his mouth, exclaiming, "Now, viper, cease thy hissing!" In the defeat of the army, the standards of the legions and two of the eagles were also taken, and these trophies

His army is destroyed, and he kills himself.

[61] Tacitus, Annal. I. 61.

[62] Florus, IV. 12.

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were exhibited by Herman to his soldiers, and treated with every mark of contempt and mockery. The third eagle was saved by the standard-bearer, who pulled it off from its staff, and kept it concealed under his girdle; he then hid himself in a bog till the enemy had left the spot, and effected his escape in safety to the Rhine. In the meantime other detachments of the Roman army were attacked in different quarters; and although some succeeded in cutting their way through the assailants and escaping into Gaul, yet the triumph of the Germans was every where complete[63]; the Romans fled beyond the Rhine, and all the conquests which they had made between that river and the Elbe were totally and irrecoverably lost[64].

The Romans are driven out of Germany.

Consternation felt at Rome.

The accounts of the consternation produced at Rome by the defeat of Varus describe it as so excessive, that unless they came from the Romans themselves, we should regard them as the mere exaggerations of national pride in the conquerors, exalting the effects of their own success. We are told that Augustus posted guards in different parts of Rome[65]; that he continued all the governors of the provinces in their several commands, as if the crisis required only officers of tried ability and experience; and that he followed a precedent which had been set during the invasion of Italy by the Cimbri, and repeated in the war with the Italian allies, of vowing solemn games

[63] Velleius Paterculus, 120.

[64] Hâc clade factum, ut Imperium quod in litore oceani non steterat, in ripâ Rheni fluminis staret. Florus, IV. 12.

[65] Suetonius, in Augusto, 23.

to Jupiter, "if he would be pleased to bring the Commonwealth into a better condition." Augustus himself is said to have felt the calamity so deeply, that for some months he let his beard and hair grow, and would strike his head from time to time against the doors of his apartments, exclaiming aloud, "Quintilius Varus! give me back my legions." Had the Germans, indeed, united their efforts with those of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, and formed any connected plan for the invasion of the Roman frontiers, the danger of an invasion of Italy might not have been imaginary. But the revolt of Pannonia had been already quelled [66], and Tiberius Nero was at leisure to march with his veteran legions towards Germany, and to maintain the usual policy of Rome, by acting at once on the offensive, and carrying the war into the enemy's country. The Germans were unable to meet him in the field, and his caution secured him against every attempt at surprise; he accordingly overran and laid waste a district of considerable extent beyond the Rhine, and led back his army into winter quarters on the banks of that river [67], pretending to have retrieved the honour of the Roman arms, and to have restored them to their accustomed superiority. But the frontier had receded to the Rhine, and Tiberius could not again advance it. Four years afterwards he succeeded to the sovereignty of the empire, on the death of Augustus; and his jealous temper made him by no

Expedition of Tiberius Nero into Germany.

[66] Velleius Paterculus, 114.

[67] Velleius Paterculus, II. 120.

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means inclined to see any of his officers obtain the glory of effectually conquering Germany. The Rhine thus became the permanent limit of the Roman dominions; and that great river formed so natural a boundary line, that all attempts to penetrate beyond it were renounced as inexpedient; so that the Germans remaining unconquered, had leisure to grow in power and numbers, till they crossed the Rhine in their turn as conquerors.

State of Britain.

We have said that Britain was not subdued by the Romans till a period later than the reign of Augustus. But although it was not yet become a province, yet the petty chiefs of the island were glad to propitiate the favour of Augustus[68], by sending offerings to be presented to the temple of Jupiter in the capitol, and by paying a small tax or duty on all the articles which they imported from Gaul, or exported thither in return. However, as these duties were probably only levied in the ports of Gaul, the payment of them did not necessarily imply a state of dependence, inasmuch as it was only a voluntary compliance with the terms on which the Roman government chose to allow them to trade with its subjects. But the eagerness of the Britons for the toys and trinkets which they procured from the Roman empire, made them purchase them without complaining of the duty; and Augustus found it cheaper and easier to levy this tax upon their fondness for finery, than to incur the expense of main-

[68] Strabo, IV. 5, § 3, edit. Siebenkees.

taining an army in the island in order to reduce them to the condition of tributaries. CHAP. XI.

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Having thus dwelt somewhat longer than we are accustomed to do on the foreign relations of the empire, we shall now return within the frontiers, and proceed to describe the nature of the imperial government, and the general condition of the people under its dominion.

Despotic tendency of the constitution of the Roman Commonwealth.

Whoever has traced the character of the Roman constitution through the successive periods of the Commonwealth, must have observed in it a number of points which are entirely congenial to despotism. In fact, the powers of the magistrates were to a high degree tyrannical; and were only counteracted by the mutual check which they severally found in the equally tyrannical powers of the rest. For instance, the authority of the consul seems in itself to have been absolute, although its exercise was restrained, within the walls of Rome, by the protecting power of the tribunes and by the right of appeal to the people; abroad, by the particular provisions of the Porcian law. Till that law was enacted, the consul, when without the city commanding the armies of the Commonwealth, was altogether the master of the life of every citizen. Nor was this confined to points of military discipline; for we read that Q. Fabius Maximus threatened with death a citizen who had been just elected to the consulship for the ensuing year, because he had maintained the validity of his own election which Fabius wished to over-

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throw[69], and to recall the centuries to give their votes over again. The censors might degrade any individual from his rank in the Commonwealth at their sole discretion; the tribunes, or even any single member of their college, might stop the proceedings of every department of the government, and seem to have possessed an arbitrary power of committing any one to prison who opposed their measures. If from the ordinary magistrates of the Commonwealth we turn to the senate itself, we shall see that body, although properly only a single member of the legislature, assuming to itself the right of dispensing with the laws or of annulling them altogether, and claiming and exercising an unlimited despotism, whenever it thought proper to declare the country in danger, and to give the consuls charge to provide for its safety. Above all, the Romans were familiarized to arbitrary power in the authority possessed by the members of the various special commissions which were from time to time appointed. The commission of ten senators, who were usually empowered to settle the state of a newly-conquered country at the close of a war, was accustomed, indeed, to act only in the provinces; but the commissioners for planting colonies, for superintending the distribution of national lands under an agrarian law, for providing for the supply

[69] Livy, XXIV. 9. Quum T. Otacilius ferociter vociferaretur atque obstreperet, Lictores ad eum accedere Consul jussit; et, quia in urbem non inierat, admonuit, cum securibus sibi fasces præferri.

of the Roman markets, or for instituting an inquiry into any alleged misdemeanours and malversations, exercised their power towards citizens, and seem to have enjoyed an ample discretion which might be moderated only by the fear of future impeachment at the expiration of their office. In later times the practice of appointing extraordinary officers had become almost equivalent to the formation of a temporary monarchy. Twice had Pompey been invested with sovereign power over a large portion of the empire; first, when he was intrusted with the supreme direction of the war with the pirates, and again when he was sent to finish the long-contested struggle with Mithridates. On a third occasion, when he was named comptroller of the markets, allowed to appoint his lieutenants to act under him in the different provinces, and intrusted with the discretionary employment of a large sum of the public money, his power seemed far to exceed the level of a citizen of a free Commonwealth. When, therefore, that atrocious Commission of Three for regulating and settling the affairs of the republic, was instituted in the persons of Augustus, Antonius, and Lepidus, it was a measure not altogether unprecedented, and certainly analogous to the less absolute but yet very extensive powers which had been often given to special commissioners under circumstances of less general disorder. And the imperial power of Augustus was only an enlarged special commission of the same nature. It was limited in its duration, as it was to expire at the end of ten

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years; it was conferred by the senate on the most distinguished citizen in the Commonwealth, for the avowed purpose of remedying the evils which had grown up during a period of unparalleled confusion. That it was in the highest degree arbitrary, was conformable to the general spirit of similar commissions which had been conferred by the senate and people in former times; and in this manner the government was made gradually to slide into a monarchy, merely by a dexterous application and enlargement of precedents, which had occurred repeatedly through the successive periods of the duration of the Commonwealth.

The people have in every age tolerated a despotic power which has professed to derive itself from their appointment, and to be exercised in their names and for their benefit. Such was the power of the Roman emperors; which, therefore, differed most widely in its avowed principle from the monarchies of Asia, and from those also which have been established on its ruins among the nations of modern Europe. It is true that in the eastern provinces of the empire, the people, unacquainted with the forms of the Roman government, and regarding only the absolute authority with which the emperors were invested, early began to bestow on them the title of kings, and to look upon them in the same light as they had been accustomed to view the successors of Alexander. But in Italy, the name of king, or sovereign lord, would have seemed a degradation which the Roman people could not endure; and

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the gross flattery which was offered to the Cæsars, was by no means characteristic of the new state of the Commonwealth, but arose out of those strongly marked distinctions by which the aristocracy were separated from the bulk of the people. It is plain, from many passages in Cicero's letters, that the ordinary language of citizens of humble, or merely of inferior rank, when addressing the nobility, was in a tone of deference approaching almost to servility. Nay, even men of rank themselves, when writing to those who were still above them in power and dignity, used a style of compliment which strikes our ears as offensive; so that it was no sudden influx of servility, but the mere operation of the ordinary feelings of the people, which produced that style of flattery so observable in the writers of the Augustan age, as well as in the decrees of the senate and the speeches of its members. In process of time, as the imperial power became more firmly established, and as the families of the old aristocracy gradually dropped off, this servile language came to be addressed more exclusively to the emperors; and as the government continued to be wielded by a single hand, the people felt more and more that strong distinction between themselves and their ruler, which marks the relation of sovereign and subject, as opposed to that of citizens and their chief magistrate. Hence, in later times, the Roman government became a monarchy in the oriental and modern sense of the term, and its laws and titles were trans-

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ferred with perfect fitness to the kingdoms of Italy, France, and Germany.

Extent of the imperial power.

Augustus possessed a power entirely despotic, by the mere union of the ordinary magistracies of the Commonwealth in his person, with some few especial enlargements of their privileges and authority. He was invested with proconsular power in all the provinces in Italy, and even within the walls of Rome; and his authority in the provinces was to be paramount to that of the ordinary governors. In the same manner Pompey the Great had received proconsular power in all the provinces of the empire within fifty miles of the sea, when he was intrusted with the command of the war against the Cilician pirates; and still more recently, when Cicero proposed to confer on C. Cassius the conduct of the war against P. Dolabella, the tenour of his commission allowed him to enter any province in pursuit of the enemy, and gave him superior power in that province to the magistrate by whom it was actually governed. The authority of the proconsuls in the provinces was entirely absolute under the old constitution, as they exercised supreme controul over the military force, over the revenue, and over the criminal and civil jurisdiction; and by extending this power to Italy, and even to Rome itself, a virtual sovereignty was in fact bestowed. Whatever might be wanting in the proconsular power, was at all events given in the title of "imperator," which was prefixed to the name of Augustus, as it had been to

that of his uncle, and seems to have been equivalent to the name of "General of the Forces of the Commonwealth." By attaching a perpetual military command to the person of the emperor, and by allowing him to hold it in Rome as well as in the provinces, all the people were in effect subjected to martial law; and it is well known that the power exercised by Roman generals over their soldiers was ever most arbitrary, insomuch, that, according to Cicero, "the Roman people in war obeyed their general as a king[70]." Yet further, in addition to the powers of proconsul and imperator, Augustus enjoyed also all the authority formerly possessed by the censors. He would not, indeed, take the name of censor, but he received a title and power similar to that which had been bestowed on his uncle, and which Suetonius calls, "morum legumque regimen," the controul of the manners and laws of the Commonwealth. With regard to his controul of the laws, it must be understood, probably, to regard those laws which concerned the objects of the censor's jurisdiction, such as the sumptuary laws, and those which related to marriage. His controul of manners rendered him absolute master of the rank of every citizen, as it enabled him to choose members into the senate, and to degrade them; to raise any plebeian to the equestrian order, or again to deprive him even of the political privileges of a

[70] Noster Populus * * in bello sic paret ut Regi. Cicero, de Republicâ, I. 40.

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simple citizen[71]. There was hardly any point of private life which did not fall under the censor's cognizance. Not only might a man be questioned for any intemperance in eating and drinking, or for any scandalous irregularities of conduct, but any excessive sumptuousness in his establishment, and even, it is said, any neglect of his property, such as omitting to cultivate or improve his land[72], subjected him often to the loss of the most distinguished rights of citizenship. For this reason, according to tradition, the duration of the censor's power had been reduced from five years to eighteen months[73], as so great an authority could not be safely intrusted to any one for more than a very limited period; and now that it was conferred on Augustus for life, it was by no means one of the least of his imperial prerogatives. To the powers of proconsul, imperator, and censor, was added, moreover, that of tribune. By this, Augustus was not only enabled to stop at once, by his negative, any measure of the senate or people which he disapproved, but his person was rendered sacred; and any violation of its sacredness, either in word or deed, exposed the offender to a complete religious and political excommunication, in which state he was devoted to some particular god[74], as if peculiarly

[71] The "Ærarii," or persons expelled by the censors from their tribes, lost their right of voting in the comitia, because it could only be exercised by those who belonged to some one of the thirty-five tribes. Their private rights and personal liberties were not at all affected by their degradation. See Niebuhr's Romische Geschichte, I. 384, &c., and II. 179.

[72] Aulus Gellius, IV. 12.

[73] Livy, IV.

[74] Festus, in vocibus "Sacer," et "Sacratæ Leges."

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marked out for his vengeance, and might be killed by any man with impunity. Last of all must be mentioned the exemption from the authority of the laws, which Dion Cassius tells us was bestowed on the emperors[75]. According to his account, Augustus was rendered absolutely despotic, inasmuch as he might dispense with any part of the code at his pleasure; and this prerogative he instances as one of those few which were not borrowed from the usages of the old constitution. But it has been reasonably supposed, that the Latin expression "legibus solutus," which was applied to persons enjoying a dispensation from some particular laws, combined with the real exemption from all the laws which was possessed by the later emperors, has misled Dion Cassius; and that the exemption was, in fact, less comprehensive than he imagined. A dispensing power had been long exercised by the senate; and we find that it was one of the measures of the patriotic tribune, C. Cornelius[76], in the year of Rome 686, to remove the abuses with which it was attended, and to enact that no dispensation should pass the senate, or, according to the legal phrase, "that no one should be released from the laws, *legibus solveretur*," unless two hundred senators were present. Still later, in the year 709, M. Brutus had been excused by the senate from continually residing in Rome during his prætorship, as required by law; and he is accordingly said by

[75] LIII. 509.
[76] Asconius, Argumentum in Ciceronis Orationem pro C. Cornelio primam.

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Cicero to have been "legibus solutus[77]." We may conclude that the same exemption, from a compliance with the injunctions of many of the old laws, was also granted to Augustus; and indeed, if the fragments of what is called the "lex regia" are to be considered as genuine and authentic, it is evident that the exemption was not universal[78].

Right of appeal to the people.

It becomes here a natural question to ask, whether the right of appeal to the people was not altogether extinct; and how the provisions of the Porcian law were evaded, which made it highly criminal to scourge or put to death any Roman citizen? With regard to the first, we will endeavour to give the reader some notion of its nature, and of the cases in which it was allowed. In the earliest times it was no more than a part of the wild habits of savage life, where government being ill understood, and therefore apt to be rudely exercised, each man might appeal from the authority of the chief to that of the society at large; the power of capital punishment, as distinguished from the taking away life in a quarrel or in anger, being one of the rights which the community did not choose to intrust out of their own hands. The appeal to the people was the first simple form in which a man was tried by his country; and before the establishment of independent judges, it was the only security against the arbitrary sentence

[77] Cicero, Philippic. II. 13.

[78] Utique quibus legibus, plebeive scitis scriptum fuit ne Divus Augustus, . . . teneretur, iis, &c. Imperator Cæsar Vespasianus solutus sit. Apud Heineccium, Antiq. Roman. Syntagma, I. tit. 2, 67, edit. Haubold.

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of the magistrate. But as such an appeal could not be made on every occasion, the people deputed their power to judges specially appointed by themselves [79] (as in the case of the quæstores parricidii), or chosen at the beginning of every year by the prætors out of a whole order of citizens, sometimes out of the senate alone, and sometimes from the senate, the equites, and the richer plebeians, according to the various enactments successively made on this subject. When an independent judicial power was established, the right of appeal to the people at large could only be needless or mischievous, and therefore it gradually fell into disuse; nay, we doubt whether there was legally any appeal from the sentence of the select judges who sat with the prætor in criminal causes; for Cicero attacks Antonius for proposing a law by which criminals condemned for rioting or treason by the ordinary tribunals were allowed to appeal to the people [80]; and he complains that such an appeal was equivalent to the total subversion of all justice. Nor do we remember any instance in the later times of the Commonwealth of a trial removed by appeal from the regular courts to the popular assembly, except in the case of C. Rabirius, U.C. 690; and Rabirius appealed not from the decision of the præ-

[79] Pomponius, de Orig. Juris, quoted by Creuzer, Romische Antiquitaten, 165, and Heineccius, IV. tit. 18, c. 11, edit. Haubold. See also the expression of Cicero, de Legibus, III. 12. Magistratibus judicia dantur, ut esset populi potestas, ad quam provocaretur.

[80] Philippic. I. 9. Altera promulgata lex est, ut et de Vi et de Majestate damnati ad populum provocent, si velint.

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tor and the select judges, but from that of two special commissioners, appointed by the prætor instead of the people, contrary to the usual practice, to try the case by themselves. The right of appeal was thus become obsolete, if it were not actually done away; but at any rate it was rendered useless by the military power which the title of imperator conferred on Augustus. It was an old maxim of the Roman law, that from the sentence of a general in the actual service there was no appeal [81]; and in this consisted the plenitude of his power, for even if he might be questioned afterwards for an abuse of it, yet at the time there was nothing to check or limit it, and there is a wide difference between present protection and contingent future redress. As Augustus, therefore, was invested with military power both within and without the city, the right of appeal from his authority became extinct of course. Still, however, Roman citizens in the provinces, when not actually serving in the army, might appeal to Rome from the sentence of a provincial governor; but Augustus himself, if we may believe Dion Cassius [82], was constituted judge of all such appeals; and we know, from a much higher authority [83], that in the reign of Claudius they were regularly made to

[81] Cicero de Legibus, III. 3, 4. Militiæ, ab eo, qui imperabit, provocatio ne esto; quodque is, qui bellum geret, imperassit, jus ratumque esto. Although these words are a part of the code devised by Cicero for his Utopian Commonwealth, yet this code is confessedly borrowed almost entirely from that which actually existed at Rome.—Omnium Magistratuum descriptio; sed ea pæne nostræ civitatis, 5.

[82] LI. 457.

[83] Acts of the Apostles, XXV. 10, 11.

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the emperor, without any allusion to the old constitutional power of the people.

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Of the Porcian laws, and the nature of capital punishments under Augustus.

A remarkable obscurity hangs over the origin of the Porcian laws; for it is not known with certainty by whom they were proposed, nor at what period they were enacted. It appears from Cicero that they were three in number, brought forward by three different members of the Porcian family[84]; but whether of the family of Porcius Læca, or Porcius Cato, is still undecided. However, it is sufficiently known that these laws confirmed the right of appeal to the people, and forbade, under heavy penalties, that any Roman citizen should be scourged or put to death, of whatever crime he might have been guilty, if we except, perhaps, the wilful murder of a parent[85]. Thus the greatest punishment that could be legally inflicted at Rome, was simple banishment, till Cæsar, in his dictatorship, added the forfeiture of all property in the case of those convicted of wilful murder, and of the half of it for all other offences[86]. Nay, even the punishment denounced by the Pedian law, passed U.C. 710, against the assassins of Cæsar, was no more than banishment from Italy; so completely were Roman citizens exempted by law from suffering the penalty of death. It is generally thought, however, that the provisions of the Porcian law did not extend to citizens actually serving in the army; but this must be understood with considerable limitations. The old ignominious method

[84] De Republicâ, II. 31.

[85] See Cicero, pro Roscio Amerino, 25.

[86] Suetonius, in Cæsare, 42.

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of punishment, by which criminals were first scourged with rods, and then beheaded with an axe (virgis cæsi et securi percussi), could never be inflicted upon a Roman citizen under any circumstances. This is plain from the fact mentioned by Sallust [87], that Q. Metellus Numidicus, in the Jugurthine war, punished one of his officers in this manner, because, adds the historian, the offender was a Latin citizen: that is, he could not have so punished him had he been a Roman. We believe further, that a Roman soldier could not even be flogged on actual service; and we are inclined to think that this was one of the provisions of the Sempronian law, De Militum Commodis, carried by C. Gracchus in his tribuneship; for we are told by Plutarch [88], that M. Livius Drusus, one of his colleagues, in order to outdo him in proposing popular measures, brought forward a law to exempt the Latins from the liability to be flogged when serving as soldiers; and although the passage in Sallust already quoted, shows either that this law was soon after repealed, or that Plutarch, as we rather believe, has assigned to it a wrong date, and ascribed it to a wrong author, yet its being proposed at all clearly proves that the Roman soldiers already enjoyed a similar exemption, as no one would ever have thought of granting to the Latins immunities which were not possessed by the Romans themselves. Nor is our position refuted by the instances recorded in later times, of soldiers suffering

[87] De Bello Jugurthino, 69.

[88] In C. Graccho, 9.

death by running the gauntlet[89] (fuste cæsi), for this was a punishment inflicted not by the general's lictors, but by the hands of the soldiers themselves, and was expressive of the feelings of the army at large towards those who were guilty of cowardice, or of any other flagrant breach of military duty. In cases of mutiny, or any other crime which required an instant and terrifying example, a general would have ordered the offenders to be executed; there being no appeal at the time from his sentence, and if ever he was afterwards questioned for his conduct, he would have urged the plea of necessity or public expediency, which was ever admitted as an excuse for any departure from the ordinary laws. And thus only can we reconcile the extreme bloodiness of the proscriptions and occasional executions of the Romans, with the excessive mildness, or rather weakness, of the letter of the constitution. When, soon after Cæsar's death, a disorderly multitude used to assemble round his altar in the forum, and committed several outrages on the property of different citizens, P. Dolabella, who was then consul, attacked the rioters in a summary manner, and put numbers of them to death without any sort of trial, crucifying the slaves, and throwing the free citizens from the Tarpeian rock. This behaviour was applauded by Cicero as an act of salutary vigour[90]; yet had the meanest of the citizens thus executed been brought

[89] Auctor de Bello Hispaniensi apud Cæsaris Commentar. 27. Velleius Paterculus, II. 78.

[90] Philippic. I. 12. Epist. ad Atticum, XIV. epist. XV. XVI. XVII.

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to a legal trial under the severest of the existing statutes for the punishment of riots, he could have received no heavier sentence than that of exile.

A system like this, in which the laws were so frequently superseded by acts of summary violence, was admirably calculated to serve the purposes of despotism. The Porcian laws existed unrepealed, but equally unregarded whenever it suited the interest of the sovereign to violate them. How, indeed, could they be more signally violated by the emperors than they had been in innumerable instances under the old constitution; not only in the proscriptions, but in the suppression of less alarming disorders, in the executions ordered by the senate after the deaths of the two Gracchi, in the punishment of the accomplices of Catiline, and in the severity which we have just noticed of P. Dolabella? So much respect was shown to the forms of the constitution, while its spirit was violated, that in the infliction of the punishment of death some pains were taken to deprive it of the appearance of an execution, and to give it the character of an irregular but necessary act of policy or vengeance; a sort of capital ostracism, in which the sufferer was treated more as an enemy than a criminal, and his life was taken without any accompanying circumstances of degradation. Hence a party of soldiers were so often employed as the ministers of death, instead of a regular executioner; and the sword instead of the axe was the weapon used, a distinction which continued to exist to a much later period, insomuch, that when beheading by the sword was

recognised as a legal punishment, still beheading by the axe was looked upon as degrading and illegal [91]. Hence the sufferers were so often allowed to choose their own mode of death, and were constantly permitted to be their own executioners. For all these acts, committed by the sovereign power on the alleged ground of public expediency, the practice of the old constitution furnished precedent and apology; and the Porcian law still availed to save Roman citizens from the rods and axe of the lictor, from those cruel and ignominious scourgings which were inflicted so often by the Roman magistrates in the provinces [92], sometimes as a punishment, and at other times as an instrument of torture to extort a confession from a prisoner before his trial. In process of time, as was natural, the infliction of capital punishment grew to be considered as legal and regular; it began to assume the character of an execution; and as the government became more decidedly monarchical, the cruel and degrading punishments, so congenial to tyranny, were engrafted upon the law of the empire. But, for the period with which we are now engaged, it is important to observe how an excessive mildness in the laws defeats its own object, no less than excessive severity. Because the Roman constitution provided no adequate legal punishment for enormous crimes, men became reconciled to irregular inflictions of vengeance on the

[91] Heineccius, Antiquitat. Roman. Syntagma, IV. tit. 18, 10, edit. Haubold.

[92] St. Matthew, XXVII. 26. Acts of the Apostles, XXII. 24. 29.

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plea of necessity; and thus exemplified the danger of looking with indifference upon any departure from the written law, when necessity was as easily pleaded by their tyrants for the murder of Cicero, as for those of Saturninus, Cethegus, or Lentulus.

Imperial prerogatives of war and peace.

Amongst the prerogatives possessed by Augustus, Dion Cassius mentions the right of making war or peace with whatever nation he thought proper[93]. This arose out of the proconsular power which had been conferred on him, and from the immediate command which he exercised in all the frontier provinces of the empire. Wherever the dominions of the Commonwealth came in contact with any foreign nations, there the whole civil and military authority belonged to Augustus as proconsul; and if he possessed the power of making war or peace with the people who bordered upon his provinces, it was no more than had been commonly practised by the proconsuls of former times; nor could Augustus act with a less restrained discretion than his uncle had done in Gaul during the whole term of his command there, or than Crassus had exercised in his government of Syria, when he commenced his unprovoked attack upon the Parthian empire.

It is further stated by Dion Cassius, that Augustus was the absolute master of the revenue, and that he was enabled to levy money for the public service by his sole authority. And here, perhaps, we may fitly lay before the reader some notice of the pecuniary

[93] LIII. 508.

resources of the Roman empire; of the taxes paid by the people; and of the general administration of the treasury. In doing this, we shall frequently go back to the history of an earlier period; but the calm of the reign of Augustus allows us to turn our attention to many points connected with the internal state of Rome, which we have passed over amidst the press of wars and internal disturbances, through which our narrative has hitherto had to struggle. Once for all, however, we must remind the reader of the extreme difficulty of this part of our task, and request his indulgence for the faults or omissions which we fear he will not fail to discover. We must draw our facts from scattered and scanty sources; and it may often happen that some passage has escaped our notice, which, had we known it, might have taught us to qualify or to amend much that we had advanced. We have said this indeed, nearly in the same words on a former occasion; but we deem it not superfluous to repeat it again, not only to disclaim for ourselves pretensions to a more perfect knowledge than we possess, but to impress upon the reader the unsatisfactory nature of many of those disquisitions in which historians, endowed with more eloquence than industry, have permitted themselves to indulge. As the lessons of history are the most valuable part of that wisdom which concerns our earthly welfare, so it is most important that they should not be rashly offered, but that they may be at once so full and so uncorrupted, as to furnish us with a trustworthy guide. And he who

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feels the deficiencies of his own performance may at least render some service to his readers, if he shows them how far they may safely rely on him, and does not attempt to mislead them by assuming that tone of self-satisfied confidence which will always impose upon the mass of mankind, however much the wiser few may detect and despise it.

Of the Roman revenues.

The revenue of the Roman people, before their dominion embraced so many dependent provinces, arose chiefly out of three sources[94]: 1st, a property tax (tributum) levied directly upon every citizen, and proportioned to the amount of the property which he possessed[95]; 2ndly, the rents or payments of whatever kind which were received from the national domains, using this last term in its most extensive sense, as including not only lands in cultivation, whether arable or pasture, but also forests, mines, and buildings; 3rdly, the customs, including the duties levied at the different ports on all imported goods, and the tolls paid at all public ferries. Of these three, the property tax, or tributum, is said to have been discontinued after the conquest of Macedon by L. Æmilius Paulus, in the year of Rome 584[96]; that is, the revenue which the state received thenceforward from its conquered provinces, enabled it to relieve its own citizens from that species of impost which is ever most galling to the popular feeling. The second source of revenue, namely, the national domains, cannot be fully under-

[94] But see Niebuhr, I 459.—[Ed.]

[95] Livy, I. 43.

[96] Cicero, de Officiis, II. 22.

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Of the nature of the national domains.

stood, without touching upon a field of inquiry, at once most interesting and most laborious, and which neither our limits nor our ability enable us fully to explore[97]. All lands conquered in war, surrendered by the inhabitants or ceded by treaty, became the property of the conquering people, who thus were not only the sovereign, but the landlord of the territories which they acquired. Sometimes this right was so far mitigated in practice, that the old inhabitants were allowed to retain their lands, as tenants, on payment of a rent to the conquering people as their landlord; but sometimes, also, it was exercised in its widest extent,—the old proprietors were expelled altogether, and the land was disposed of according to the pleasure of its new masters. In Grecian history there is an instance of the first of

[97] For the groundwork of what follows on the subject of the national domains, the writer has great pleasure in acknowledging his obligations to the masterly work of Niebuhr, and particularly to the excellent chapter on the nature of the agrarian laws, II. 349, et seq. He is indebted to Niebuhr also for his first acquaintance with the collection of writers, De Re Agrariâ, published by Goesius at Amsterdam, in 1674, and which is so little known in England, that he has found no allusion to it in any English writer on the Roman History whose works have fallen under his notice. Niebuhr's "Roman History" is one of those great works of genius which throw at once a blaze of light over subjects before obscure, and which, by the clearness and justness of the views which they communicate, make us full of surprise that the same discoveries had never been made before. Niebuhr carries some hypotheses perhaps too far, and in some of his opinions may be led away by a fondness for novelty; but these are faults which succeeding writers may easily correct, while they and the world in general derive perpetual benefit from the great excellences of his work; its surprising knowledge, and the eminent ability with which detached notices of facts are brought together and made to illustrate each other, and the penetration with which he has discovered principles of civil and religious law amidst an apparent chaos of anomalous and unconnected particulars.

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these methods of proceeding in the behaviour of the Athenians, after their conquest of Mitylene, in the Peloponnesian war. The territory of the Mitylenæans was divided into a certain number of lots, on each of which a certain rent was levied, and the former proprietors continued to occupy their estates as before, but in the character of tenants instead of landlords. On the other hand, when Ægina was conquered, the inhabitants were suffered to remain undisturbed for a time in their old homes; but on the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians thought proper to act upon their right of conquest more rigorously; they expelled the Æginetans accordingly, altogether, from the island, and divided the lands amongst a certain number of Athenian colonists, who became its inhabitants for several years, till they were, in their turn, driven out by the Lacedæmonians after the battle of Ægospotami. The Romans, in the same manner, made a difference in the treatment of the different nations whom they conquered; but in all cases they claimed a sovereignty over the soil, and in all cases, therefore, they derived from it a revenue. The peculiar mark of this sovereignty was the reservation of a right to a certain portion of the produce of the land, and this portion was generally the tenth or tithe. Even when the lands of a conquered country were restored, as it was expressed, to the old proprietors, (for by the act of conquest they were held to be instantly forfeited to the conquering people, and the right of the old inhabitants was immediately

lost,) still the tithe of the produce was reserved. When they were not restored, they were either sold by the quæstors in lots of a certain size, or divided out among a certain number of the citizens; or, not being regularly disposed of by the government, were occupied by individuals without any particular title, as they severally happened to take possession; or, fourthly, were let on leases for terms of different length to farmers, who had the power of underletting them again either entire or in lots. In the second of these cases, and in that only, the full sovereignty of the land appears to have been granted together with the occupation or enjoyment of it. When a colony was planted in a conquered country, and a division of lands made amongst the new settlers, according to the solemn forms transmitted through a long succession of ages from the priests of Etruria, then the state resigned all its rights, and the lots thus given to each colonist became, in the fullest sense of the word, his freehold [98]. But every other mode of alienation was made with a reserva-

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[98] In the collection of writers, De Re Agrariâ, to which we have before alluded, there is a very remarkable fragment, ascribed to Vegoia, and which is evidently translated from an Etruscan original of the highest antiquity. It is so curious, that the reader may not be displeased to see a part of it here transcribed :—

"Scias Mare ex Æthere remotum. Cum autem Juppiter Terram Hetruriæ sibi vindicavit, constituit jussitque metiri Campos, signarique Agros, sciens Hominum Avaritiam vel terrenam Cupidinem, Terminis omnia scita esse voluit, quos quandoque ob Avaritiam prope novissimi octavi Sæculi datos sibi Homines Dolo malo violabunt, contingentque atque movebunt. Sed qui contigerit moveritque Possessionem, promovendo suam, alterius minuendo, ob hoc Scelus damnabitur a Diis," &c. p. 258.

How exactly does this agree with the very words of the Mosaic law, that "cursed is he who removeth his neighbour's landmark."

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tion of the state's sovereignty; a tenure more or less favourable was granted to the individual, but the government retained its right to the tithes of the produce, and its power of planting colonies at a future period in the domains over which it did not think proper to exercise at present its full authority. Now as the whole territory of Rome, to speak generally, had been gained by conquest, the sovereignty of it was vested in the Roman people; and with the exception of such portions as had been divided out into colonies, it was all subject to the payment of tithes. In process of time the whole of Italy became exempted from this burden by the gradual division of every part of the public land amongst the inhabitants of its various colonies; and when the Italians successively acquired the rights of Roman citizens, all the land which had been given back after conquest to its old possessors[99], as well

[99] Hyginus says expressly, "Agri qui redditi sunt non obligantur Vectigalibus, quoniam scilicet prioribus Dominis redditi sunt," p. 205, edit. Goesii. But Cicero says as positively, that the conquered lands in Sicily, which had been restored to their old inhabitants, were regularly let by the censors; that is, the tithes which they paid were regularly farmed. (Cicero, in Verrem, III. 6.) And Aggenus Urbicus lays it down as a general rule, that in the provinces, "omnes etiam privati Agri Tributa atque Vectigalia persolvunt." Commentar. in Frontin. p. 47, edit. Goesii. We suppose, therefore, that so long as the Italians were foreigners to Rome, the lands given back to them were subject to the same burden as those which were restored to the states of Sicily. With regard to the lands sold by the quæstors, Niebuhr classes them with those divided amongst the settlers of a colony, and considers them as entirely freehold. Romische Geschichte, II. 379. It is with the utmost diffidence that we differ from so great an authority; but Hyginus says, that the tenure of the "agri quæstorii" was the same with that of the other lands of the Roman people; and Siculus Flaccus gives it as a definition of "land belonging to the Roman people," that its revenue

as that which had been sold by the quæstors, assumed the character of the private property of Roman citizens, and thus was placed on a level with that divided out amongst the settlers of a colony, and became altogether freehold. But in the provinces all land, except that which belonged to any Roman colony, was subject to some payment to the government. In some instances a general land tax was levied over the whole province, as a sort of fine paid by the inhabitants for the renewal of their term of possession, after their rights, as freehold proprietors, had been forfeited by the conquest of their country. But in other cases, where the province had been peaceably ceded or bequeathed to the Romans by its former sovereign, as in the instance of the province of Asia, the inhabitants retained their former rights, and the Roman people only acquired the sovereignty or superiority over the country (if we may borrow a nearly analogous term from the Scottish law), which was signified by the reservation of the tenth part of the produce as the invariable property of the government. This claim upon the tithes existed, we believe, quite distinctly from the general land tax or fine levied upon some particular provinces; and where that land tax was paid, the tithes were nevertheless paid also. In some instances we find that the provincial lands paid a

belongs to the treasury. Edit. Goesii, p. 2. However, as the lands sold by the quæstors were not very extensive, it is of the less consequence to ascertain minutely whether it was a sale of the sovereignty, or only of the possession of the land for ever, subject to the payment of its tithes to the government.

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seventh and sometimes a fifth part of their produce to the government[100]; and here it may be difficult to decide, whether this payment was still independent of the tithes, or whether it was made as an equivalent both for the tithes and the land tax or tribute. But in addition to all these burdens, we have a long list of others which were imposed by the provincial governors when their own avarice or the alleged exigencies of the public service required any extraordinary resources[101]. First, there was a general levy of money enforced over the whole province[102], corresponding perhaps to the feudal aids, and raised, we may suppose, by a per centage upon property. Then followed the most odious of all imposts, a poll tax, demanded alike of slaves and freemen; and, besides this, other taxes upon houses or house doors[103], and upon the columns which were so much used in the more expensive architecture of the ancients. Finally, there was a general impressment of soldiers, seamen, and carriages, for the military and naval service, additional requisitions of corn for the maintenance of the troops, and of arms and military en-

[100] Hyginus, de Limitib. constituend. 198, edit. Goesii. Creuzer distinguishes these payments of the fifth or seventh parts of the produce both from the tithes and from the land tax, Romische Antiquitaten, 265. But we know not on what authority this statement arose, and it seems to us somewhat doubtful.

[101] Cæsar, de Bello Civili, III. 31, 32.

[102] Imperatæ Pecuniæ.

[103] Ostiaria, Columnaria. The poll tax and house tax seem not to have been peculiarly confined to periods of great public exigency; for both are mentioned by Cicero as having been levied in Cilicia in the year 701; and by the manner in which they are spoken of, they appear to have been ordinarily levied there. Epist. ad Familiares, III. epist. VIII.

gines. Under these multiplied exactions, besides a charge altogether indefinite made by the proconsul or proprætor for the maintenance of himself and all his inferior officers, it is no wonder that the provinces were overwhelmed with debt; for the necessity of paying the taxes being immediate, the people were reduced to borrow money at an exorbitant interest, and there were always wealthy Romans of the equestrian order at hand who carried on a regular traffic in the distress of the provinces, and who were accustomed to lay out their money in loans of this kind, as they thus gained not only a very high rate of interest, but also an extensive influence over the individuals or communities who were indebted to them.

Of the publicani.

In the dealings between the government and its subjects, the intervention of a third party was generally employed. The revenues of every province were commonly farmed by wealthy individuals of the equestrian order, called by the well-known name of Publicani. As the senators were not allowed to engage in any sort of traffic, the equestrian order, consisting of all citizens not being senators, who possessed property beyond a certain amount, embraced almost the whole commercial interest of the empire; and a favourite branch of their speculations was that of farming the revenues. As soon as a province fell under the dominion of Rome, a number of these adventurers proceeded to settle themselves in it, and to acquaint themselves with the extent of its resources. They then purchased of the censors the

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different taxes claimed by the government,—the land tax, the tithes, the poll tax, and the other subordinate imposts, and thus took upon themselves the whole risk and trouble of collecting them. In doing this they were armed with the full authority of the government by the officer who commanded in the province, unless he happened to have some quarrel with their order, in which case they probably found their business sufficiently difficult, and were losers rather than gainers by their contracts[104]. But in ordinary cases the governor of the province and the publicani were well disposed to gratify one another; for the equestrian order, after the Sempronian law had placed the whole judicial power in their hands, was a body not lightly to be offended; and the condemnation of P. Rutilius, whose upright administration had checked the exactions of the publicani in Asia, was a lesson to future magistrates rather to share in the plunder of the farmers of the revenue than to endeavour to repress it.

Under the old constitution the revenues were under the controul of the senate, to which body the quæstors, who acted as treasurers both at Rome and in the provinces, were obliged to submit their accounts. But the civil wars had created so large a military force throughout the empire, and had so dangerously taught the soldiers to know their own power, that it became most important to provide for them by regular means, lest they should again be

[104] Cicero, de Provinciis Consularibus, 5.

tempted to listen to some new adventurer, and to renew the disorders which had prevailed for the last twenty years. Augustus therefore instituted a military treasury [105], over which he possessed supreme authority, as imperator or commander in chief of the army; and for the support of this treasury he invented some new taxes, particularly a sort of excise duty of one per cent. on all articles exposed to sale [106]. He enjoyed also the entire revenues of those provinces which were immediately subjected to his jurisdiction; and even in those which were under the controul of the senate, he had a treasury of his own, distinguished by the name of fiscus from the ærarium or treasury of the people, into which probably were paid those taxes which had been created for the especial support of the ærarium militare. In all the provinces alike, the revenues which belonged to Augustus were received in his name by officers called procuratores [107]; a class of persons who at first were hardly considered as more than the agents or stewards of a wealthy individual, and who were accordingly selected not only from the equestrian order, but also from among the freedmen; while the regular governors of the provinces, whether proconsuls or lieutenants of the emperor, were, with the sole exception of the governor of Egypt, appointed exclusively from the senate.

State of Italy and the provinces.

We here propose to notice, separately, the state of

[105] Suetonius, in Augusto, 49. Conf. Creuzer, Romische Antiquitaten, 218, 219.
[106] Tacitus, Annal. I. 78.
[107] Dion Cassius, LIII. 506.

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Italy.

Italy and of the different provinces of the empire, under the government of Augustus, as far as we have been able to collect materials for the picture. The name of Italy was now at last applied to the whole peninsula from the Alps to the Straits of Messina[108]; and the inhabitants of the whole of this district had obtained the rights of Roman citizens. Their votes, however, were no longer to be given in the comitia at Rome[109], but the magistrates of the different Italian colonies were to collect the votes of their fellow-citizens in their respective towns, and send them sealed up to Rome, there to be opened on the day of election in the Campus Martius. These colonies, it must be remembered, occupied at this time nearly all the surface of Italy. It was the boast of Augustus that he had himself planted no fewer than eight and twenty; a strange subject of exultation, when we consider that they were formed out of the soldiers of his army, and were planted in spots left desolate by the extirpation of their old inhabitants, who had suffered either under the first proscription of the Triumvirs, or under that fatal establishment of military tyranny which was created by the reduction of Perusia. The soldiers of a mercenary army are miserable elements out of which to form a civil society; and thus, instead of a people inheriting the soil from time immemorial, and blending, in one well-organized commonwealth, nobility and wealth and honest industry, the new possessors

[108] Strabo, V. 1.

[109] Suetonius, in Augusto, 46.

of Italy were an ill-cemented horde of dissolute adventurers, with no natural connexion with the spots on which they were settled, and with habits the most alien from those of good husbands, good fathers, or good citizens. We are told accordingly, that the free population of many parts of Italy was reduced to a very low point [110], whilst the slaves were numerous, and the capital itself was overburdened with the crowd of needy citizens, whom each successive civil war threw upon that common shore of nations. The north of Italy, however, was in a more flourishing condition; there the military colonies had been far less numerous, and the inhabitants having lately acquired the rights of Roman citizens, and possessing natural advantages of the highest order in their soil and climate, were perhaps the most fortunately circumstanced of any people throughout the empire. In Patavium or Padua there were five hundred citizens rich enough to be ranked among the equestrian order [111]. The town carried on a great trade with Rome, supplying the capital with clothing, with the finest carpets, and with other articles of similar kinds to an immense amount, probably from its own manufactories. The woods of this part of Italy maintained also large droves of swine [112], which supplied the population of Rome with the largest proportion of their food; and the vine was cultivated with great success, in proof of which Strabo instances the prodigious size of the wine vats, rivalling, it seems,

110 Livy, VI. 12.
111 Strabo, V. 1, § 7.
112 Strabo, 1, § 12.

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those of our London brewers, for they are described as being larger than houses. The coarser woollen cloths, which formed the dress of the households of most of the people of Italy, were chiefly manufactured in Liguria and its neighbourhood; whilst the softest and finest wool was produced by the pastures of Mutina and Scultenna. Above all, it is said that here was to be found a numerous free population, which provided the state with its best supply of soldiers, whilst the rest of Italy was left exhausted and desolate, and Augustus was endeavouring to force its inhabitants to marry and rear families by the penalties and encouragements of the law.

Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica.

The island of Sicily had been the seat of one of the latest civil wars, that between Augustus and Sex. Pompeius, and it is said to have suffered not only during the contest, but during its previous occupation by Pompeius; the plundering and disorderly habits of his numerous seamen having proved, we may suppose, very mischievous to the inhabitants[113]. Since that time, Augustus had sent a colony of veterans to Syracuse, and a small portion of the former site of that famous city was again occupied and fortified. But the cities of Sicily were now become few and inconsiderable; its population was small; and almost the whole of its abundant produce was regularly sent to Rome for the maintenance of the people of the capital. A great part of the surface of the island was devoted to pasture for sheep,

[113] Strabo, VI. 2, § 4.

oxen, and horses[114]; and the slaves, who were employed in taking care of them, had formerly, as we have seen, carried on a long and obstinate struggle against the Roman power. In the reign of Augustus they still infested the country, and particularly the neighbourhood of Ætna, with their robberies; and Strabo mentions a robber chief, whom he himself saw torn to pieces by wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Rome, and who, before he was taken, had been at the head of a considerable force. The mountains of Corsica and Sardinia were in like manner occupied by wild tribes of barbarians, who kept up a constant system of plunder against the inhabitants of the more level country; those of Corsica are described as so inveterately brutish[115], that when taken and carried to the Roman slave market, their purchasers always repented of their bargain, however trifling the price they had paid for them; while the Sardinian robbers did not confine their depredations to their own island, but frequently made excursions to the opposite coast of Italy, and were enabled, in great measure, to defy the Roman governors in their own haunts, from the impossibility of keeping a military force exposed to the pestilential atmosphere of the wilder parts of the country. Amongst the Alpine tribes, to the north of Italy, the same plundering habits had formerly prevailed, and even the Roman armies, which were stationed in their neighbourhood, had frequently suffered from

[114] Strabo, 2, § 6.

[115] Strabo, V. 2, § 7.

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their desultory attacks[116]; but Augustus, judging it most important to keep up a secure communication between Italy and the Transalpine provinces, and having himself, on one occasion, lost his baggage and several of his soldiers when crossing the mountains which they inhabited, determined to put an effectual stop to their incursions. He accordingly employed such vigorous measures against them, that he extirpated the nation of the Salassi altogether, selling no fewer than forty-four thousand of them for slaves, eight thousand of whom were the warriors of the tribe. Three thousand Roman settlers were then sent to colonize the town of Augusta, or Aosta, at the very head of the valley of the Dorea Baltea, from which place two roads were carried across the Alps, the one over the Little Saint Bernard, which was made practicable for carriages, and the other over the Great Saint Bernard, which could be travelled only by mules. In consequence of these exertions, the whole neighbourhood was reduced to a state of perfect tranquillity, and the communication with Gaul was carried on without molestation[117].

Gaul.

The condition of the important province of Gaul itself will be regarded with more curiosity. Its "Cicatrice" must still "have looked raw and red after the Roman sword," when Augustus first became the sovereign of the empire; for scarcely more than twenty years had elapsed since his uncle had for the first time completed its conquest. Yet in

[116] Strabo, IV. 6, § 7.
[117] Strabo, IV. 6, § 7; and Pliny, Histor. Natural. III. 20.

the reign of Tiberius, Strabo describes the inhabitants as already settled into habits of peaceful submission to the Roman power [118]; and he attributes it to their national character, which long retained the remembrance of a defeat, and if vanquished in one general contest, was cowed for ever. But the fact is, that the Gauls, when first attacked by Cæsar, were by no means a nation of savages. They had regular governments [119], were perfectly familiar with agriculture, and were accustomed to pay the greatest veneration to their Druids, who professed, with whatever success, the study of moral and natural philosophy. Such a state of society, combined with the natural features of the country, which then, as now, was by no means favourable to the maintenance of a desultory and harassing warfare, ensured the permanence of the conquest of Gaul as soon as it was once effected. The people were able to appreciate the value of the arts, and the commercial advantages which they derived from their conquerors. Even before the invasion of Cæsar, traders were in the habit of visiting almost every part of the country, and had familiarized the people with many even of the luxuries of civilized life. But the Roman conquest must have greatly increased this traffic, by enabling merchants to transport their goods from one end of Gaul to the other with perfect security, and by bringing the whole country into direct communication with the wealth and commercial enterprise of

[118] IV. 1, § 2; 4, § 2.
[119] Cæsar, de Bello Gallico, VI. 11, &c.

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the Roman empire. The great rivers with which France abounds were successfully employed to expedite this intercourse [120]; and goods from all parts of the Mediterranean were conveyed by water up the Rhone and Saone, and from thence, after a short interval of land carriage, were again embarked on the Seine, and thus transported either to Britain or to all the districts on the northern coast of Gaul, bordering on the British Channel; while the Loire and the Garonne afforded an equally convenient communication with the western parts of Gaul, and with the shores of the Bay of Biscay. In another point, also, the Gauls felt the benefit of their connexion with Rome. Great quantities of oxen, sheep, and pigs, were reared in all parts of the country [121]; and we are told that not only Rome itself, but most other districts of Italy, were supplied with coarse cloaks manufactured of Gaulish wool, and with Gaulish bacon of most excellent quality, particularly from the hogs fed in Burgundy, Franche Comté, and Lorraine. There were also some favoured spots in Gaul, to which the Romans had communicated their own political privileges. Narbo, Vienne, and Lugdunum were Roman colonies, and enjoyed the advantages of the "jus Italicum" in its full extent [122];

[120] Strabo, IV. 1, § 14.

[121] Strabo, 1, § 2; 4, § 3. Cæsar, de Bello Gallico, IV. 2.

[122] See Haubold, Epicrisis Heineccii, I. Append. § 97, 98; and Creuzer, Romische Antiquitaten, 263. This account of the "jus Italicum" was first given by Savigny, in his Dissertation "Ueber das Jus Italicum" published among the Memoirs, and read by him before the Academy of Berlin in 1814 and 1815.

that is, they were governed by their own laws and magistrates, and were not subject to the authority of the proconsul of the province, and their land was considered private and freehold property in the full Roman sense of the term; it was, therefore, not liable to pay land tax or tithes; and it might be alienated by "mancipatio," that is, it might be sold in full sovereignty, and with an indisputable title, a privilege which was peculiarly confined to the soil of Italy[123], and to those places in the provinces which, by possessing the "jus Italicum," were placed on the same footing as if they were situated in Italy. The lower privilege of the "jus Latii" was conferred on the inhabitants of Nemansus, or Nismes [124], and on the Convenæ and Ausci in Aquitania, by which they also enjoyed an exemption from the authority of the proconsul of the province; and those who held any magistracy among them became *ipso facto* entitled to the full rights of Roman citizens. These, however, were in the time of Augustus rare exceptions; and the great majority of the inhabitants of Gaul shared largely in the miseries as well as in the benefits of subjection to the Roman empire. They were oppressed by all the burdens ordinarily imposed on the provinces, and suffered not only from direct taxation, but from that still heavier evil, to which we have before alluded, the frequent necessity of borrowing money at an exorbitant interest

[123] See Liber Simplicii, apud Scriptores de Re Agrariâ, 76, edit. Goesii.

[124] Strabo, IV. 1, § 12; and 2, § 2.

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from the wealthy Roman citizens who were settled amongst them. Accordingly we find, as early as the reign of Tiberius [125], that the whole of Gaul was overwhelmed with debt, and their sufferings from this cause led to the unsuccessful insurrection against the Roman power, which took place, about eight years after the death of Augustus, under Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir.

Change of language.

The total extirpation of the Celtic language, which was effected throughout the whole of Gaul, during the continuance of the Roman dominion, could not have taken place till long after the reign of Augustus. But an earnest of the change was already exhibited in Gallia Narbonensis, which had been now a Roman province for more than a century; for Strabo tells us [126], that the inhabitants of the left or eastern bank of the Rhone were even in his time no longer to be considered barbarians, but were become Romans, both in their customs and in their language. Several important steps had also been taken towards the civilization of the more recently conquered provinces. Human sacrifices [127], and all rites of the Celtic worship which were at variance with the practices of the Roman religion, were strictly prohibited; nor was more toleration shown to the barbarous custom of carrying about the skulls of their enemies whom they had slain, and fastening them up as a trophy over their gates. Besides, the

[125] Tacitus, Annal. III. 40. Galliarum Civitates, ob magnitudinem Æris alieni, rebellionem cœptavere.

[126] IV. 1, § 12.

[127] IV. 4, § 5.

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Romans found the Gauls already disposed, in some measure, to adopt their institutions, from the popularity which the arts and literature of Greece had obtained amongst them. Their knowledge of these was derived from the famous Ionian colony of Massilia, or Marseilles, a city which was at this time the Athens of the western part of the empire [128], and not only served as a school of instruction to the Gauls, but was frequented by many Romans of the highest distinction, who resorted thither, instead of to Greece, to devote themselves to literature and philosophy. So strong an effect had been produced by the Massilians upon the Gauls in general, that the Greek sophists found in most parts of Gaul a liberal reception, and were often engaged by particular cities to open schools of public instruction for their citizens, while the Greek character began to be adopted wherever there was occasion for writing [129]. The Celtic, it appears, was not a written language; and the Druids refused to commit to writing any of the learning which they possessed and taught, giving their instructions only by word of mouth, and obliging their scholars to trust to their memories alone for retaining them. This circumstance, doubtless, contributed to the gradual adoption of the Roman language throughout Gaul. As soon as a fondness for literature was introduced, the Gauls, finding nothing to gratify it in their own language, applied themselves of necessity to that of

[128] IV. 1, § 5,

[129] Cæsar, de Bello Gallico, VI. 13.

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their conquerors. This co-operating with the influence which Latin necessarily enjoyed from political causes, introduced it universally, in time, amongst the higher classes; while the existence of domestic slavery made it much more necessary for the lower orders to acquire the language of the higher, than is the case in modern Europe. Thus the negroes in the West Indies learn, universally, the language of their masters; whilst in Wales and Ireland the gentleman often accommodates himself to his poorer neighbours, and consents to address them in Welsh or in Erse, because they choose to continue ignorant of English.

Spain.

The different parts of the neighbouring country of Spain presented a striking contrast to each other. The whole Peninsula was at this time divided into three provinces [130], known by the names of Bætica, Lusitania, and Hispania Tarraconensis; the first of which was governed by a proconsul appointed by the senate, and the two latter by the lieutenants of Augustus. Bætica comprised nearly the same extent of country which is at present included within the limits of Andalusia and Grenada. It had been already conquered by the Carthaginians before the second Punic war, and in the course of that war was made a part of the Roman dominion by P. Scipio Africanus, after the expulsion of its former masters. The Romans had thus possessed it for about two hundred years, and it was now one of the most

Bætica.

[130] Dion Cassius, LIII. 503. Strabo, III. 4, p. 444, edit. Siebenkees.

flourishing portions of their empire. Its inhabitants had almost lost their original language[131], and in their speech, and dress, and manners, were become assimilated to their conquerors. The valley of the Bætis, or Guadalquivir, is described by Strabo as rivalling in richness and fertility the most favoured countries in the empire; its trade with Rome was exceedingly great, and carried on directly with Ostia and Puteoli, the ports in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital; the ships employed in this commerce were of the largest size of any that frequented the Mediterranean; and the articles exported in them were numerous and valuable, consisting of corn, wine, oil of the finest quality, wax, honey, salt, fish in immense quantities, pitch, minium or cinnabar[132], and coccus ilicis, an insect of the cochineal species, and used by the ancients for their best scarlet dyes, as we now use the cochineal of Mexico. The Spanish wool then enjoyed the same high reputation which it still does to this day; great quantities of it, both in the raw and manufactured state, were exported to Rome; and so highly was the Spanish breed of sheep esteemed,

[131] Strabo, III. 2, p. 404. 380. 389. &c.

[132] The minium (sulphuret of quicksilver) belonged to the government, and, with other productions of the mines, was farmed by the publicani. The price, however, at which it was to be sold was fixed by the government at 15*s.* 8*d.* the pound avoirdupois; but the publicani made a large profit by adulterating it. The coccus ilicis was found so plentifully on the evergreen oak, (quercus coccifera,) that Pliny says the poorer Spaniards were enabled to pay half their tribute by the money which they got from the sale of this insect. See Pliny, Histor. Natural. XVI. 8; and XXXIII. 7.

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that the rams were ordinarily sold for a talent[133], or 193*l.* 15*s.* of our money. Above all, we should notice the mineral riches of Spain, which exceeded in value and in quantity all that were known to exist in any part of the world. We read of gold obtained partly from the mines, but more brought down in small particles by the streams from the mountains, and extracted by carefully washing the sand and gravel in which it was contained: and mention is made also of mines of silver, lead, tin, iron, and copper. Of the towns of Bætica, the most distinguished were the Roman colonies of Corduba and Hispalis (Cordova and Seville), and Gades, or Cadiz. This place had been founded at a very remote period, by a colony from Tyre[134]; their Phœnician extraction however did not induce the inhabitants to bear the Carthaginian dominion with willingness; but, on the contrary, they took an early opportunity to conclude an alliance with Rome[135], even before the downfal of the Carthaginian power in Spain, and became thus, according to the usual nature of alliances between a stronger and a weaker state in the ancient world, a dependency of the Roman people. In the civil war provoked by Cæsar's rebellion, the people of Gades espoused his cause with zeal, and expelled Pompey's officer from their town[136]; in return for which, if we may believe Dion

[133] Strabo, ibid.

[134] Velleius Paterculus, I. 2.

[135] Cicero, pro Balbo, 15, 16. The language of the treaty ran, "Majestatem populi Romani comiter conservato" (scil. populus Gaditanus).

[136] Cæsar, de Bello Civili, II. 20.

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Cassius [137], Cæsar bestowed upon them the privileges of Roman citizenship. They found at any rate an effectual patron in their countrymen L. Cornelius Balbus, the nephew of that Balbus who had been presented with the freedom of Rome by Pompey, for his services in the contest with Sertorius, and who has been mentioned before as one of the most confidential friends of Cæsar, and as one of the first instances of a man, by birth a foreigner, rising to the rank of consul at Rome. Balbus enlarged the city of Gades [138], and built a dock-yard on the main land immediately opposite to the island in which the town is situated. In the reign of Tiberius, Gades was one of the most flourishing cities in the empire; and it is said to have rivalled Patavium or Padua, in containing five hundred citizens, rich enough to be reckoned amongst the equestrian order. It carried on an extensive trade both in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic, and the size and number of its merchant vessels are both especially noticed.

Lusitania and Hispania Tarraconensis.

The two remaining provinces of Spain were far from being in so advanced a state as Bætica. The Celtiberians indeed, who inhabited the central and eastern parts of the Peninsula, were partially becoming more civilized [139]; and some of them, like the people of Bætica, had learnt to wear the Roman dress, and to adopt the Roman manner of living. But the tribes which bordered on the Atlantic and

[137] XLI. 164, edit. Leunclavii.
[138] Strabo, III. 5, p. 451, edit. Siebenkees.
[139] Strabo, III. 2, p. 404; and 4, p. 446.

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on the Bay of Biscay still retained in great measure their original wildness. The Cantabri, whose territory corresponded with the modern provinces of Biscay and Asturias, had been only lately attacked by Augustus in person [140], in the year 728; and being then partially conquered, had soon afterwards renewed the contest, and had been more effectually subdued by L. Æmilius, in the year following, and again by M. Agrippa, in the year 734. In the reign of Tiberius [141], the continued presence of a large Roman army in their country (for out of three Roman legions stationed in Spain, two were quartered amongst the Asturians and Cantabrians,) had produced a partial effect upon them: some of them had entered into the service of Rome, and some of the tribes were learning the first elements of civil society. But the existence of the Basque language to this very day, undestroyed by the revolutions of eighteen centuries, sufficiently proves that in these remote districts the language and manners of Rome were unable to take deep root; and therefore, at the period of which we are writing, no more had probably been done than to reduce the hostilities of the natives to mere acts of robbery in the mountains and forests, and by quartering Roman soldiers among them to set before them a view of more civilized institutions. The coast of the Mediterranean presented naturally a different picture [142]. Here were

[140] Dion Cassius, LIII. 513. 516. 528. Horace, Carm. III. ode 14; and Epistolar. I. epist. 12.

[141] Strabo, III. 3, p. 416; 4, p. 445. Tacitus, Annal. IV. 5.

[142] Strabo, III. 4, p. 437. 429.

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cultivated the vine, the fig, and the olive; and here were the famous cities of Carthago, or Carthagena, and Terraco, or Tarragona, both Roman colonies. On this coast also there grew in great luxuriance a species of broom, which was largely used in rope-making, and which was exported for that purpose to all parts of the empire. In the interior may be noticed the recently-planted colonies of Augusta Emerita or Merida, Pax Augusta or Badajoz, and Cæsar-augusta or Zaragoza, which Strabo instances as a proof of the improved condition of the countries in which they were situated [143].

Mauritania.

The northern coast of Africa from the Atlantic ocean to the harbour of Saldas [144], which lies a few miles to the eastward of Algiers, was known by the general name of Mauritania, and was at this time governed by an African prince, on whom Augustus had conferred the sovereignty; this was Juba, the son of that Juba who had so zealously supported the constitutional party in the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, and the husband of one of the daughters of Antonius and Cleopatra. But notwithstanding these connexions, Juba had served Augustus in the civil wars [145], and had acquired his favour; and as the greatest part of his father's dominions now formed part of the Roman province of Africa, he received the sovereignty of Mauritania as a sort of compensation. From the port of Saldas to the borders of

[143] III. 2, p. 404.
[144] Strabo, XVII. 514.
[145] Dion Cassius, LI. 454; LIII. Tacitus, Annal. IV. 5.

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Cyrenaica, the whole country which had been formerly possessed by the kings of Numidia and the republic of Carthage, was now united under one government, and was called the province of Africa[146]. It was one of the provinces assigned to the senate and people, and was governed by a proconsul, with a military establishment of two legions[147]; and it is known to have been one of the countries which sent the greatest quantity of corn to the Roman market[148]. But of the details of its condition very little is recorded. We find by the Fasti Triumphales, that the proconsuls of this province frequently laid claim to the insignia of a triumph, on account of victories gained over the barbarians of the interior: we hear of a Roman colony[149], lately founded by Augustus, close to the site of the ancient Carthage; and we are told that private individuals possessed here immense estates[150], chiefly woodland and pasture, on which many villages were built, and a numerous population was maintained around the villa of the proprietor or lord. Perhaps from this very cause the towns in Africa were few and unimportant; the old ones had been mostly destroyed, either in the Jugurthine war, or in the contest between Cæsar and the constitutional party, under Scipio and Cato: and as the land

[146] Strabo, XVII. 3, § 25.

[147] Tacitus, Annal. IV. 5.

[148] Tacitus, Annal. XII. 43. See also several passages in Horace; for instance, Sat. II.; Sat. III. 87. Carm. I. ode I. 10; III. ode XVI. 30.

[149] Strabo, XVII. 3, § 15. Appian, Punica, 136.

[150] Aggenus Urbicus, de Controversiis Agrorum, apud Scriptores de Re Agrariâ, edit. Goesii, 71.

seems mostly to have been granted or sold away to individuals, there was less room for those military colonies, which in other parts of the empire were laying the foundations of so many cities, famous in after generations. Still we know that Africa carried on a considerable trade, for Strabo[151], when wishing to represent the great number of the merchant vessels employed in the commerce between Italy and the south of Spain, observes that it almost rivalled the number of the vessels engaged in the commerce of Africa.

Of the eastern or Greek provinces. Cyrenaica.

In proceeding eastward to the small province of Cyrenaica, we enter upon a new division of the empire, and one most strongly distinguished from all the countries which we have hitherto noticed, by the general use of the Greek language. The Greek provinces, if we may so call them, were in a very different condition from those of the west, which, owing their civilization to the Romans, borrowed from them alone their language and their institutions. But in the east, society had long since assumed a settled form, which in its internal details was but little affected by the conquests of Rome. Cyrene, originally a colony from the little island of Thera, in the Ægæan[152], after enjoying some centuries of independence and prosperity, was conquered by Ptolemy[153], the son of Lagus, the first of the Macedonian kings of Egypt, about the year of Rome

[151] III. 2, p. 387.

[152] Herodotus, Melpomene, 145, et seq.

[153] Diodorus Siculus, XVIII. 602, et seq. edit. Rhodoman.

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430. It was afterwards, like Cyprus, conferred from time to time, as a separate principality, on some member of the royal family; and a prince, named Ptolemy Apion [154], who had obtained it in this manner, bequeathed it by his will to the Roman people, in the year of Rome 657. The lands which had belonged to him as king [155], thus became the demesne of the Roman people, and not being divided out amongst a certain number of citizens, as was the case when a colony was planted, they were farmed in the mass by the publicani, mostly as grazing lands, and were encroached upon from time to time, like the other national lands throughout the empire, by the proprietors of the surrounding estates. In the time of Augustus, Cyrenaica was united with Crete [156], under the government of the same officer, and the two countries together formed one of the prætorian provinces which had been assigned to the jurisdiction of the senate and people. It may be remarked, as a proof that Cyrenaica was the western limit of the Greek provinces, that the Jews, who had spread themselves over all the eastern part of the empire, are known to have been very numerous at Cyrene [157], but are not mentioned as having established themselves in the adjacent provinces of Africa, or in any of the provinces westward of Italy. To Cyrene itself its connexion with Egypt would

[154] Livy, Epitome, LXX.

[155] Tacitus, Annal. XIV. 18. Pliny, Histor. Natural. XIX. 3. Hyginus, de Limitibus constituend. 210. Script. Rei Agrar. edit. Goesii.

[156] Strabo, XVII. 2, § 25.

[157] Acts of the Apostles, II. 10; VI. 9. Dion Cassius, LXVIII. 786.

naturally have led them; and they formed there a body so considerable as to have a synagogue specially appropriated to them in Jerusalem.

We have already mentioned some of the precautions taken by Augustus to prevent the great resources of Egypt from being placed at the disposal of any one who might use them for the views of his own ambition. The governor of Egypt was always selected from the equestrian order, that is, from a class of citizens who enjoyed the comforts of an affluent private station, without taking any part in civil or military offices. Next under the governor was an officer invested with the administration of justice [158]; and after him came the procurator of the emperor, whose business was simply to receive and collect all sums which were due to the imperial treasury. The military establishment consisted at first of three legions, besides nine cohorts, employed on permanent garrison duty at particular points of the country; but as it was soon found that nothing was to be dreaded either from any disposition to revolt in the Egyptians themselves, or from the power of the yet unconquered neighbouring nations, it was thought safer to intrust the governor of so wealthy a province with the least possible military

[158] Strabo, XVII. 1, § 12. ὁ δικαιοδότης. The procurator was called ἴδιος λόγος, or "private account," which seems almost like a cant term bestowed on him by the Egyptians. The separation of the judicial power from the supreme civil and military administration of the province, appears to be another proof of the excessive jealousy with which the power and wealth of Egypt were regarded by the emperor.

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force, and the army in Egypt was consequently reduced to two legions[159]. So wretched had been the condition of the country under some of its recent kings, that the Romans are said to have introduced many beneficial reforms; and the trade with India, which was carried on by way of the Red Sea, increased prodigiously under their dominion, notwithstanding the heavy duties which they took care to impose on all articles imported into, or exported from, Alexandria[160]. There were two modes of communication between Egypt and the Red Sea; one was by that famous canal, which had been begun in the remotest times by Pharaoh Necho, again resumed by Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and finally completed under the government of the Ptolemies; and which leaving the Nile near the southern point of the Delta, after a somewhat circuitous course, joined the Red Sea at the town of Arsinoe, close to the modern town of Suez. The other was by land, across the Desert, from Coptos on the Nile, situated a few miles to the north of Thebes, to the ports of Berenice and Myos Hormos; and the route was now supplied with water, partly by digging wells, and partly by

[159] We thus attempt to reconcile the different statements of Strabo, who states the troops in Egypt to have consisted of three legions and nine cohorts, (XVII. 1, § 12,) and of Tacitus, who rates them only at two legions (Annal. IV. 5). Unless indeed Tacitus spoke only of the number of Roman soldiers, and Strabo meant to include the auxiliaries; a supposition which seems supported by his distinguishing the nine cohorts which were employed in garrison duty, by the epithet "Roman," as if all the troops of the three legions were not entitled to that appellation.

[160] Strabo, XVII. 1, § 13. 25. 45.

reservoirs, which preserved the occasional supply from the clouds. All the goods which were introduced into Egypt from the east by either of these channels, were necessarily conveyed to Alexandria, where they were again re-shipped and exported to Italy and the rest of the empire. It may be observed, that two out of the three ships in which the apostle Paul performed his voyage from Palestine to Rome [161], were ships of Alexandria, which seems to indicate that vessels from that place sailing direct to Italy were more easily to be found than from any other port in the eastern provinces. Besides the various commodities of the east, Egypt exported to Rome great quantities of corn [162], together with the best writing materials then known in the world, the famous papyrus, the two finest sorts of which were named the Augustan and the Livian [163], in compliment to the emperor and his wife. Alexandria having been long the capital of a great monarchy, and now becoming the seat of a commerce so extensive, was probably the second city in the Roman empire. But of all its buildings and institutions, the Museum deserves most particular notice. It formed a part of that large division of the city which the successive kings of Egypt had inclosed within what may be called the precincts of their court [164]; a space equal to nearly a third of the whole of Alexandria;

[161] Acts, XXVII. 6; XXVIII. 11.

[162] Tacitus, Annal. XII. 43. Histor. III. 8. 48.

[163] Pliny, Histor. Natural. XIII. 12.

[164] Strabo, XVII. 1, § 8.

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and which may be compared to the parks of London, and to that quarter of the town in which our palaces, our public offices, and our courts of justice, are concentred together. The museum comprised within it the great library of Alexandria, an ornamented walk, and a large building, which served as a refectory or college hall to the literary men who belonged to the institution. It may perhaps surprise some of our readers to hear that there was a society at Alexandria which very closely resembled the colleges of our English universities. There was a head or master of the museum, who was also a priest, appointed by the government; and there was an endowment for the maintenance of the members of the college, who lived at the museum, and were accustomed to have their meals together, as we have seen, in their common hall. A similar assemblage of literary and scientific men had formerly existed at Heliopolis; and Strabo was shown the apartments in which, according to the tradition of the guides, Plato and Eudoxus had resided for several years, to learn wisdom from the sages of Egypt[165]. But this institution was gone to decay in the time of Augustus, and the buildings were occupied only by the persons engaged in the care of the sacrifices, and by those who instructed strangers in the forms which they were to observe when they came there to worship. In another point however Egypt had undergone little change since the days of Herodotus. The

[165] XVII. 1, § 29.

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scandalous licentiousness of some of the festivals was still faithfully preserved; and the canals which led from Alexandria to the famous temple of Serapis, at Canopus [166], were thronged day and night during the period of the festival with an innumerable concourse of people, indulging themselves without restraint in the worst excesses of debauchery.

Syria and Asia.

From Egypt to the Ægean Sea, the countries included under the general names of Asia Minor, and Syria, were in the time of Augustus portioned out into a number of divisions and subdivisions, which it would be of little importance to enumerate minutely. The principal of these were the two great provinces of Syria and Asia; the former governed by the lieutenants of the emperor [167], the latter by proconsuls, in the name of the senate and people. Next to these in importance were the united provinces of Pontus and Bithynia, which also belonged to the senate and people: Galatia with Pisidia and Lycaonia [168], which belonged to Augustus, and Cilicia, which also was governed by a lieutenant of the emperor. Cappadocia still retained a nominal independence [169], under its king Archelaus, till about four years after the death of Augustus; as did Judæa under Herod, till a somewhat earlier period. Lycia enjoyed its own laws [170] and a free municipal government; and there were a great many detached

[166] Strabo, XVII. 1, § 16, 17.
[167] Dion Cassius, LIII. 504. Strabo, XVII. 3, § 25.
[168] Dion Cassius, LIII. 514. Strabo, XII. 5, § 1.
[169] Tacitus, Annal. II. 42.
[170] Strabo, XIV. 2, § 3.

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and subordinate districts, which were governed by petty kings, dynasts, tetrarchs, and rulers of various designations, but which were all subject in fact to the controul of the Romans, and the condition of which was altered from time to time at the pleasure of the emperor, as it was understood that all countries of this description were under his especial authority [171]. Throughout the whole of this part of the empire, Greek was commonly spoken and understood by the higher orders in all the large towns; but there was a great variety of native languages and dialects which still maintained their ground [172], and an almost equal variety of manners prevailing amongst the different people and tribes. Many of the mountain districts were infested by robbers, who made frequent inroads upon the lowland country in their neighbourhood; while many of their cities, such as Antioch, Tyre, and Tarsus, in Syria and Cilicia, together with most of those in the province of Asia, were in a state of high civilization, cultivating the arts of peace successfully. But the Roman colonies were few, and few of the cities, in comparison with the western provinces, enjoyed the rights of Roman or of Latin citizenship. The burden of taxation was moreover great [173], and much was often suffered besides from the tyranny and exactions of the provincial governors. On the other hand, the evils of war were no longer felt or dreaded; four legions only were stationed in the whole of Asia Minor and

[171] Strabo, XVII. 3, § 25.
[172] See Acts II. 9, &c.
[173] Tacitus, Annal. II. 42. 54.

Syria[174], and most of these were placed near the Euphrates, to guard the frontiers on the side of Parthia. The internal communications between different parts of the country were mostly become secure and easy; and the piracy, which had been once so great an evil on the coasts of Cilicia and Pamphylia, was now so reduced as to offer no obstacles to the trade or general intercourse which was carried on by sea.

Greece—Macedonia and Achaia.

The condition of Greece was apparently one of great desolation and distress. It was divided in its widest extent into the two provinces of Macedonia and Achaia, both belonging to the jurisdiction of the senate and people. Both had suffered severely by being the seat of the successive civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, between the Triumvirs and Brutus and Cassius, and lastly between Augustus and Antonius. Besides, the country had never recovered the long series of miseries which had preceded and accompanied its conquest by the Romans; and between those times and the civil contest between Pompey and Cæsar, it had again been exposed to all the evils of war when Sylla was disputing the possession of it with the generals of Mithridates. In the time of Augustus therefore it presented a mournful picture of ruin. If we go through Peloponnesus, and inquire what was now the fate of cities and states once so memorable, we shall find that Messenia, and Arcadia[175] were almost reduced

[174] Tacitus, Annal. IV. 5.

[175] Strabo, VIII. 4, § 11; 8, § 1.

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to a desert, and that Laconia was greatly decreased in population, although its capital, Lacedæmon, enjoyed the title of a free state [176], and the Laconians, or inhabitants of the country, and even the helots, had been long relieved from that abject dependence upon the Spartans to which they were in the old times subjected. The most flourishing towns were Corinth and Patræ [177], both of them Roman colonies, recently founded; the former by Cæsar, who peopled it with a number of freedmen; and the latter, one of the military colonies of Augustus, planted after the battle of Actium. Northward of the Isthmus the scene was equally melancholy. It was from a view of the ruins of the once famous cities of the Saronic Gulf, of Ægina, and Piræus, and Megara, that Ser. Sulpicius derived that lesson of patience under domestic calamities with which he attempted to console Cicero for the loss of his daughter Tullia [178]. Ætolia and Acarnania were become wastes [179], and the soil was devoted to pasture for the rearing of horses. Thebes was hardly better than a village [180], and all the other towns of Bœotia, except Tanagra and Thespiæ, were reduced to the same condition. Epirus was depopulated [181], and occupied by Roman soldiers; Macedonia had lost the benefit of its mines, which the Roman government had appropriated to itself, and was suffering from the weight of

[176] Strabo, 5, § 5.
[177] Strabo, 6, § 23; 7, § 5.
[178] Cicero, ad Familiares, IV. epist. V.
[179] Strabo, VIII. 8, § 1.
[180] Strabo, IX. 2, § 5.
[181] Strabo, VII. 7, § 3.

its taxation; but it appears not to have undergone so great a desolation as the neighbouring province of Achaia. Of the burden of taxation imposed on this part of the empire, there are two remarkable proofs on record. Strabo himself happened once to touch at the little island of Gyarus[182], which he describes as a place containing no town, and inhabited merely by fishermen. When the vessel was again putting to sea, one of the fishermen came on board, and took his passage to Corinth, telling Strabo and his fellow-passengers that he was going on a deputation from his countrymen to Augustus, who happened to be in Greece at that time, to request some relief from taxation; for the inhabitants of Gyarus paid, he said, an hundred and fifty drachmæ (4*l.* 16*s.* 10½*d.*) annually, one hundred of which would be more than they were able to spare. It appears also that the provinces of Macedonia and Achaia[183], when they petitioned for a diminution of their burdens, in the early part of the reign of Tiberius, were considered so deserving of compassion, that they were transferred for a time from the jurisdiction of the senate to that of the emperor; a change which tended to relieve them, by subjecting them only to the exactions of the imperial procurator, instead of the joint demands of the procurator and proconsul; for the emperor's fiscus or private treasury received a portion of the revenues in the provinces belonging to the senate, but in those which were particularly

[182] X. 5, § 3.

[183] Tacitus, Annal. I. 76.

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under himself, there was no officer employed by the senate to collect taxes for the public treasury or ærarium. Meanwhile the change of circumstances had rendered Greece far less capable of affording a large revenue than in the days of her early greatness. Then the naval power of the Greeks, the uncommercial habits of the Persians, and the general barbarism of the west of Europe, bestowed upon Greece an extensive trade with all parts of the Mediterranean; and vessels from the coasts of Ionia found their way not only to the Adriatic[184], to Sicily, and to Italy, but also to the ports of Gaul and Spain, and even through the Straits of Gibraltar to the riches of Tartessus and Gades. Besides, the high military character of the Greeks procured them constant employment in the service of the Persian satraps of Asia; and there were many officers who there amassed, like Xenophon, a considerable fortune, and returned with it in the decline of life to settle in their own country. This was particularly a resource for the Arcadians[185]; and money was thus poured into that wild and barren district of Peloponnesus, which the poverty of its soil and its inland situation would never have allowed it to gain from agriculture or trade. But now the commerce of the Mediterranean had passed into other hands, and the

[184] Herodotus, Clio, 163. Melpomene, 152.

[185] Thucydides, VII. 57. Of the Greeks who served under the younger Cyrus, in his attempt to dethrone his brother, more than half were Arcadians and Achaians; and of these the Arcadians formed by far the greatest portion. Xenophon, Anabasis, V. 10; I. 1, 2.

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power of Rome had transferred to Italy the reputation of being the best school of soldiers. In literature and philosophy Greece, it is true, still retained her pre-eminence; and in these respects her excellence was appreciated over a greater portion of the world than ever, as we have seen the cities of Gaul eager to secure the services of Greek philosophers for the education of their people. But although the honour of this general celebrity was reflected chiefly upon Greece properly so called, yet it was far otherwise with the profit of it. Massilia, Tarsus, and Alexandria, sent out over the Roman world as many public and private instructors as proceeded from the schools of Athens; and if we run over the list of Greek writers of the times of the early emperors[186], we shall find very few of them to have been natives of Greece itself. In this manner Greece was left without any adequate means of repairing the devastations of war, or the exactions of the Roman government, and was thus already fallen into decay, while most other parts of the empire were as yet flourishing in unbroken vigour.

General state of the Roman empire.

While we have thus attempted to lead our readers step by step through most of the countries which were now subject to Rome, our task has been little else than to collect together some of the scattered

[186] Strabo was a native of Amisus, in Pontus; Dionysius was of Halicarnassus, in Caria; Appian, of Alexandria; Lucian, of Samosata, in Comagene; Diodorus, of Sicily. We hardly remember, indeed, any of the later Greek writers, except Plutarch, who was properly a native of Greece.

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notices of their condition preserved by the writers of the times, and to repeat them as we have found them recorded. But we naturally aspire to something more than this; the Augustan age is so famous in the history of mankind, that we wish to form to ourselves some general impression of it; we would fain compare it with that state of society which we ourselves are witnessing, and examine to what degree of physical and moral improvement it had attained. It requires also our especial attention, because this splendid period was succeeded in the course of a few generations by a very general and remarkable decline; and many centuries elapsed before the tide of civilization began again steadily to flow, after having been so long upon the ebb. It can be only by an attentive observation of the Augustan age itself, that we can at all hope to discover the causes of the phenomena which followed it; and so, perhaps, to learn whether there is any just reason to dread their recurrence; whether the great improvements of our own days may at some future period be again cut short, and the full stream of knowledge forced back once more to its original and scanty channel.

No physical condition.

In order to arrive at any just notions of the physical condition of a people, our attention must mainly be directed to the state of property. Where the means of creating wealth are wanting, there must be general wretchedness; where it is inadequately secured, the means of creating it are crippled; where

it is very unequally divided, the splendour of individual fortunes may often make us forget the poverty of the great bulk of the people. The physical means of creating wealth were abundantly enjoyed in the Roman empire, as it possessed some of the most productive soils and favourable climates known in the world, with excellent water communication from one extremity of it to the other. The moral means of industry and skill were to be found in very different perfection in different parts of the empire; but we know that all the useful arts were successfully cultivated, and that the luxuries as well as the comforts of life were to be procured by any one who was rich enough to purchase them. In some districts, in several provinces, property was liable to very frequent assaults from the robber tribes who inhabited the neighbouring mountains; and in most of the provinces, perhaps, the weight of taxation was felt as a serious evil; but on the other hand, the miseries of war were removed; and although the government and its officers interfered greatly with the profits of property, yet the actual right of possession was secured by regular laws, and was rarely disturbed by the violence of power. But the great misfortune of the Roman empire was the excessive inequality with which the wealth was divided. We know enough of the splendid villas and magnificent establishments of the nobility, and of the wealthier members of the equestrian order; but the lower classes of free citizens at Rome were in the mean time supported, in great measure, by the largesses

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of the emperor[187]; and after all, from the decay of agriculture in Italy, any continuance of stormy weather which detained the usual supplies of corn from Africa, Spain, or Egypt, threatened the capital with a scarcity of bread. The fortune necessary to qualify a man for the equestrian order, was 400 sestertia[188] (3229*l.*), and in the time of Augustus there were not four thousand citizens in Rome, exclusive of the senators, whose property amounted to this sum; and there were only two towns in the empire, Gades and Patavium, which could produce five hundred citizens who possessed it. And this is rendered credible by a speech ascribed to L. Philippus, who was consul in the year of Rome 662, and who declared that there were not, at that time, two thousand citizens in the Commonwealth worth any thing[189]. In fact, when we read of the enormous riches possessed by some individuals in ancient history, by the kings of Babylon and Persia at an earlier period, and afterwards by the emperors and some of the great nobility of Rome, we could not reasonably credit the statements which are given, if we did not consider that this splendour was produced by the vast concentration of wealth in a few hands, and that it is in no respect an index of the general prosperity of the people at large. The great number of slaves kept in opulent families, and the practice of employing them in various trades for the

[187] Suetonius, in Augusto, 41, 42. Tacitus, Annal. II. 87; IV. 6; Histor. IV. 38.

[188] Pliny, Histor. Natural. XXXIII. 1, 2. Horace, Epist. I. i. 58.

[189] Cicero, de Officiis, II. 21.

supply of many of the common articles of life, was a great injury to the class of shopkeepers; and even in the liberal arts and professions, such as architecture, and medicine, the high nobility were so much in the habit of having architects and physicians among their own slaves, that the respectability as well as the profits of the free citizens of those and similar professions were necessarily lessened. The miseries of one immense portion of the whole population, the slaves themselves, need not to be particularly dwelt upon. When the slave market was so abundantly supplied as it was in Rome, the value of a slave, as an article of property, could not be considered very highly; and nothing but this selfish motive was likely to restrain masters in general from ill usage and cruelty; for the tendency of our nature to abuse absolute power, was aggravated in Rome by the utter indifference felt with regard to the fate of a slave, and by the want of some restraining and humanizing principles of morals. Something of this same indifference extended itself also to the condition of the people of the provinces, and subjected them often to a tyranny as insulting as it was oppressive. It is mentioned, indeed, to the praise of Augustus, and of the early part of the reign of Tiberius [190], that the cruelties and exactions of the provincial magistrates were greatly checked by them; that the subjects of Rome were protected from the rods of the lictors, and from confiscations of their

[190] Tacitus, Annal. IV. 6.

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property. And Augustus was the author of one most important reform, by assigning to the governors of provinces a certain fixed salary[191], instead of allowing them, according to the old practice, to lay an arbitrary charge upon the inhabitants for the maintenance of themselves and their establishment. Yet the mere ordinary administration of justice towards the provincials was, at the best, harsh and summary[192]; and it was, perhaps, rendered more so by the strong contrast between their condition and that of a Roman citizen, whose liberty even yet was fenced round against all subordinate tyranny by the jealous laws of the old Commonwealth.

If we regard the effects of the political constitution of the empire in another light, it will lead us by an easy transition from the physical to the moral condition of the people. It may be doubted, whether all the improvements of modern civilization could diffuse life and activity through so vast a body as was now united under the government of Augustus. Much less was this actually accomplished, without an established conveyance for letters, without public carriages for travellers, and without circulation of newspapers. The Romans had excellent roads, it is true, as the Persians had had before them; and, like the Persians, they had relays of horses placed at certain distances, for the convenience of forwarding couriers, or other officers of the government. But these were of no benefit to the common traveller,

[191] Dion Cassius, LIII. 506. [192] See Acts XVI. 22. 37; XX. 24.

who was obliged to find the means of conveyance for himself [193], and who was forced to limit his day's journey by the distance which could be performed by the same horses. Add to this, that the difference of language between the eastern and western provinces created a barrier between them, which at all times was an obstacle to their perfect union, and at a later period rendered their separation easy and natural. Those countries which were most remote from the capital, lost all the advantages of independent government, and their inhabitants were brought up to a condition of unavoidable helplessness; while at the same time their imperfect intercourse with the heart of the empire, prevented them from deriving from it their due portion of nourishment, or from receiving any adequate return for the wealth and industry which were continually drawn from them to Rome.

Of the intellectual state of the

Meanwhile a taste for literature was becoming fashionable in the western provinces, as it had been long in the eastern; and we have seen that the cities of Gaul were in the habit of hiring Greek sophists for the public instruction of their people. But the expensiveness and consequent rarity of books was an invincible obstacle to the general diffusion of

[193] Nunc mihi curto
Ire licet mulo, vel, si libet, usque Tarentum,
Mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret, atque eques armos.
Horace, Sat. I. vi. 104.

No man would have talked of going to Tarentum on his dock-tailed mule, carrying saddle-bags, if he could have had the convenience of a good coach, to transport him in half the time, and with infinitely greater ease and comfort.

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knowledge. It is mentioned of one of the literary men of these times [194], that he had read in the province of Syria a great number of the works of an earlier period, which continued to be known there, because they were not superseded, as at Rome, by the multitude of modern publications. And Horace speaks of his works being carried into Spain and Africa only as wrapping-paper for merchandize [195], when they had lost their popularity at Rome. The consequence of this state of things was, that men of literature formed a distinct profession in the empire, which was followed for the sake of deriving from it a means of subsistence, but that the bulk of the people were left in a very general ignorance. What has been preserved to us of the writings of these times, has proceeded mostly from men who lived by their pen, or by giving instructions to their pupils, not from persons conversant with the business of actual life, from statesmen and soldiers, or men of independent fortune, such as were Cicero, Cæsar, and the elder Cato, or such as was Tacitus a few generations later. Hence the total want of intelligent books of travels, and the low state of experimental philosophy and political economy. The study of words, however dignified by the titles of Grammatica and Rhetorica, was but a poor education for any man; yet to this an excessive attention was directed, and youth were taught to admire the purity of a writer's style, or the musical arrangement of his sen-

[194] Marcus Valerius Probus, of Berytus. Suetonius, de Illustribus Grammaticis, 24.

[195] Epist. I. epist. XX. 13.

tences, instead of observing the value of his facts, or the wisdom of his opinions. Oratory in particular, which in the best days of Greece and Rome had been far too highly appreciated, was now become a worthless study, and a mere waste of time and ingenuity, since the practical occasions for its exercise were at an end. It is, therefore, to us no wonder at all, that when all kinds of public disasters assailed the empire, the fair show of knowledge which had just gilded the surface of the Augustan age, should have been utterly worn away. Separated as it was from the habits and concerns of the practical part of the community, it died away with the patronage and general tranquillity which had fostered it. It was but a rich man's luxury, which they who were hourly trembling for their lives had no leisure to care for. For after all, if we look at the most famous writers of the Augustan age, of what description shall we find them? The highest eminence which they attained was in poetry; yet even in this it is an excellence most suited to an artificial age, and not, perhaps, the best suited to win the ears of the people at large when literature was no longer in fashion. In history the famous work of Livy is below mediocrity[196]; and the reputation which it has enjoyed is the best proof of the long continued and pernicious influence of

[196] A tolerable specimen of Livy's manifold deficiencies, arranged under the several heads of "Ignorance of the old Constitution," "Ignorance of Military Topography," "Want of Judgment," "Carelessness," &c. with numerous instances of each, is given by Wachsmuth, in his Early History of the Roman State, 33, et seq.

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the schools of grammar and rhetoric, which taught men to admire eloquent language, and to consider it as a compensation for ignorance and shallowness of judgment. In morals, in political science, in all the various branches of experimental philosophy, what do we owe to the Augustan age? But happily for mankind, the wisdom of Providence was now preparing a knowledge the very opposite to that which we have been considering, a knowledge as unpretending and generally useful as the other was ostentatious and trifling; which was fitted for the real business of life, and was received by persons of every condition; which struck root as deeply as the literature of the Augustan age had been scattered superficially; which continued its substantial benefits through revolutions which laid every thing else in ruins, and which preserves to this day its indestructible power of beneficent activity.

But the mere intellectual advancement of a people is of little importance in comparison with their moral knowledge of right and wrong; and whether the literature of the Augustan age was generally valuable or not, the Romans might still have possessed a good state of public and private morals, and therefore might have been happily circumstanced with regard to the grand concern of human life. The great questions of the end of all our actions, and the nature of our several duties, were canvassed by the philosophers of every sect; and in the public lectures of those philosophers, such subjects formed the principal part. When a parent, well versed in these

inquiries, became himself the instructor of his son, he was enabled to give him a moral education of no mean excellence; and the young man who, in addition to the conversation and example of his father, received from him such a guide as the great work of Cicero, de Officiis, addressed by him to his son, possessed, in many respects, a rule of conduct which required little further improvement. But neither were all parents philosophers, nor were philosophers the ordinary teachers of the great mass of the community. The common elementary schools of Rome, from which the majority of the people derived their whole education, were schools of reading and of arithmetic [197], and of nothing else; for the masters were men of humble station, unacquainted with the writings of the philosophers, and quite unable to venture by themselves into all the difficulties with which the chief good of man, and the nature of his duties, were then enveloped. Under such circumstances men's characters are formed partly by the influence of the society in which they live, and partly by themselves. Some virtues are always congenial to human nature in theory, however much selfishness may obstruct the practice of them; and these were often beautifully displayed in the lives of men of amiable dispositions, who wished to live up to the best of their knowledge. But unfortunately there are many vices also, of which the practice is far more natural to man than the theory is repug-

[197] Horat. Sat. I. iv. 72. De Arte Poeticâ, 325.

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nant: and into these the force of inclination and the sanction of universal custom draw almost every one. It is in such points especially that an authoritative rule of life is wanted, which being once acknowledged, may save common men the trouble of making out their duty for themselves, and may lead them at once to the true practical conclusion, without the risks or the difficulties of the previous inquiry. But in the greater parts of the Roman empire no such authority was to be found. In this respect the popular religion had utterly failed; superstition, according to the necessary course of things, was closely connected with and encouraged a complete moral carelessness; and whilst the high and pure doctrines so often inculcated by the oracles and choral songs of an earlier period were neglected or scorned, the follies and sensualities of polytheism continued to flourish even with increased vigour. The oracles had lost all their authority[198], a loss which Strabo ascribes to the influence of the Romans, who preferred their own national modes of inquiry into futurity, by consulting the Sibylline books, the entrails of victims, the flight of birds, and the phenomena of the atmosphere. But the change probably was greatly for the worse; for when the oracles were in vogue, they were consulted not only as prophets but as practical directors; and however much we may be resolved to charge their predictions with collusion and imposture, there are yet speci-

[198] Strabo, XVII. 1, § 43.

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mens of their moral doctrine preserved [199], which exhibit a purity and a wisdom scarcely to be surpassed. Nor did the philosophers retain and communicate these sparks of true religion when they were become extinct elsewhere. On the contrary, notwithstanding their many and great excellences as expounders of the duties of man to man, they were all agreed in one maxim, which amounts to a complete practical atheism [200]; the opinion, namely, that nothing was to be feared from the anger of God, because it was contrary to the divine attributes that He should be the cause of pain to any one. By this doctrine they removed the greatest check upon wickedness which has been ever devised for it; for to the mass of mankind to say that God could not or would not punish, was the same thing as to say that He did not exist. It was a virtual denial of his moral government, the only point in his nature which it greatly concerns his creatures to be acquainted with. Thus while philosophy took away the best sanction of human conduct, and while those who could not be taught by philosophers were left to form their principles for themselves, or to pick them up from the opinions of the world, the morals of the people were in a state of great corruption. Of the sensualities which were universally practised, and of the excessive grossness of manners which naturally flowed from them, the writings of every author of the times, and still more strikingly, perhaps, the

[199] See particularly, Herodotus, Clio, 158, 159, and Erato, 86.

[200] Cicero, de Officiis, III. 28, 29.

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paintings and other embellishments of the houses which have been discovered at Herculaneum, offer proofs the most incontestable. But it is equally instructive and less disgusting to dwell rather on the entire absence of those virtues and feelings which operate with such extensive usefulness in the countries of modern Europe. Charity and general philanthropy were so little regarded as duties, that it requires a very extensive acquaintance with the literature of the times to find any allusion to them. There were no public hospitals, no institutions for the relief of the infirm and poor, no societies for the removal of abuses, or the improvement of the condition of mankind from motives of charity. Nothing was done to promote the instruction of the lower classes, nothing to mitigate the miseries of domestic slavery, and far less to stop altogether the perpetual atrocities of the kidnapper and the slave market. The selfishness of human nature was thus spared its most painful sacrifice; and he who was most largely endowed with the gifts of fortune, was taught only to abstain from doing active injury, and to enjoy the good things which he possessed in a life of social and intellectual gratification.

Of the effect produced in the east by the residence of the Jews, and the Greek translation of the Old Testament.

But there was one part of the empire in which a better knowledge had been slowly working its way, and must by this time have produced considerable effect. We have already observed that the Jews were widely scattered over the eastern provinces; and as they adopted the language which was most prevalent around them, the Greek translation of the Old

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Testament, commonly known by the name of the Septuagint, was the form in which they were most familiar with their Scriptures. Intercourse with the Jews, and an acquaintance thus gained with the contents of their law and of the writings of their prophets, gave birth, throughout Syria and Asia Minor, to a class of persons who are called in our translation of the Acts by the name of "the devout[201]," and who, without thinking themselves bound to conform to the national peculiarities of the Jewish worship, had yet acquired those true notions of the divine nature and attributes, and of the duties which God demands of man, which are so largely contained in the Old Testament. The effect of this knowledge on those who profited by it, was to produce the very virtues in which the world was generally most deficient—devotion and charity[202]; and by these means a large portion of the people was in some degree prepared for the doctrines of a still more perfect law, which were a few years afterwards introduced among them by the Christian apostles.

Here then our review of the state of the Roman world must terminate. Deficient as we well know it to be from the imperfection of our own knowledge, it will yet serve, perhaps, to show what were the most striking differences between the condition of society in those times and in ours, and to point out

[201] XVII. 4. 17. See also X. 2; XIII. 50. And the same word is used in the Greek, although it is differently translated in our version, XIII. 43; XVI. 14; XVIII. 7.

[202] See the character of the centurion Cornelius, Acts X. 2.

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on how much less firm a foundation civilization was then built than we may hope is the case now. When, however, we reflect on the point of time at which this sketch terminates, other thoughts, we confess, are foremost in our minds, the expression of which we do not feel called upon entirely to restrain. About fourteen years before the death of Augustus, Jesus Christ was born into the world, and in less than twenty years afterwards the first foundations of the Christian society were laid. Henceforward the Roman empire acquires, in our eyes, a nearer interest; as a country to which we were before indifferent, becomes at once endeared to us, when we know it to be the abode of those whom we love. In pursuing the story of political crimes and miseries, there will be henceforth a resting place for our imaginations, a consciousness that, amidst all the evil which is most prominent on the records of history, a power of good was silently at work, with an influence continually increasing; and that virtue and happiness were daily more and more visiting a portion of mankind, which till now seemed to be in a condition of hopeless suffering. The reader, who has accompanied us through all the painful details presented by the last century of the Roman Commonwealth, will be inclined, perhaps, with us, to rejoice in the momentary contemplation of such a scene of moral beauty.

Of the family of Augustus.

It now only remains that we give some account of the family of Augustus, and conclude this memoir with some particulars of his own private life. We

have already mentioned his marriage with Livia, the wife of Tib. Nero, in the year 716; and that he had at that time one daughter, named Julia, the child of his former marriage with Scribonia. As he had no children by Livia, Julia remained his only heiress, and the choice of her husband became a matter of great importance. She was first married to her cousin Claudius Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus by his sister Octavia[203], and the person celebrated by Virgil in those famous lines of the sixth Æneid, for which Octavia so largely rewarded him. But Marcellus dying young, and without children, Augustus selected for the second husband of his daughter his oldest friend and most useful adherent, M. Vipsanius Agrippa. This marriage seemed to answer all his wishes, for Julia became the mother of five children, Caius, Lucius, Julia, Agrippina, and Agrippa Postumus, so called because he was born after his father's death, which took place in the year 741. Caius and Lucius were immediately adopted by their grandfather, and assumed the name of Cæsar; before they arrived at the age of manhood they were distinguished by the title of "principes juventutis," or "chiefs of the youth;" they were marked out as consuls elect, to enter upon that office as soon as they arrived at a fit age; they were sent to the different provinces and presented to the armies, as the heirs of the emperor; their education was conducted in great measure by Augustus himself, and they

[203] Tacitus, Annal. I. 3. Suetonius in Augusto, 63, et seq.

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were his constant companions at table and on his journeys. But all his hopes in them were marred by their successive premature deaths. Lucius Cæsar, when on his way to take the command of the army in Spain, was taken ill and died at Massilia, about the year 754; and Caius Cæsar, who commanded the army on the frontiers of Parthia, having been wounded in Armenia, and returning slowly homewards towards Italy, died about eighteen months after his brother, at the town of Limyra, in Lycia [204]. Meanwhile their mother, Julia, had been married, for the third time, by her father, after the death of Agrippa, to Tiberius Claudius Nero, the son of Livia; but when Caius and Lucius Cæsar were grown up to manhood, and were in the height of their favour with their grandfather, Tiberius, for whatever reasons, thought proper to withdraw from Rome to the island of Rhodes, where he lived in the greatest retirement, and during a part of the time in a sort of disgrace, for the space of more than seven years. During his absence, his wife, Julia, was guilty of such gross infidelities to him, that Augustus himself divorced her in the name of his son-in-law, and banished her to the island of Pandataria, off the coast of Campania [205], where she was closely confined for some time, and treated with the greatest rigour; nor would Augustus ever forgive her, or receive her into his presence, although he afterwards removed her from Pandataria to Rhegium, and somewhat

[204] Velleius Paterculus, II. 102. [205] Tacitus, Annal. I 53.

softened the severity of her treatment. After the deaths of Caius and Lucius Cæsar, Tiberius was adopted by Augustus as his son, in the year 756[206], and with him M. Agrippa Postumus, now the only surviving son of M. Agrippa. But Agrippa Postumus is represented as a youth of a brutal and intractable temper[207]; and Livia, to favour her son's interests, so exaggerated his faults, and so prejudiced his grandfather against him, that he, too, like his mother, was banished from Rome, and confined in the island of Planasia: Tiberius thus remained the sole heir to the greatness of his father-in-law; but in order to point out the succession even for a more remote period, he was obliged, by Augustus, to adopt as his son his nephew, Germanicus, the only surviving child of his brother Drusus, although he had at the same time a son of his own. Accordingly, during the last ten years of the life of Augustus, Tiberius was associated with him in the tribunician power, and in the general administration of the empire, and was clearly marked out as his successor; while Drusus and Germanicus, the two sons of Tiberius by birth and by adoption, seemed to ensure the continuance of the sovereign power in his family to the third generation.

Anecdotes of his character and behaviour.

We have said that M. Vipsanius Agrippa died in the year 741. Four years afterwards Augustus lost his other chief counsellor and faithful friend, C. Cilnius Mæcenas, by whose advice he is said to have

[206] Velleius Paterculus, II. 103, 104.

[207] Tacitus, Annal. I. 3. Suetonius, 65.

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been greatly assisted in the arrangement of his government. But his power was now securely settled, and the various conspiracies which were formed against him at different times after the battle of Actium, were the mere efforts of individual revenge or ambition, and were all easily discovered and punished. In the case of L. Cinna[208], who had intended to assassinate him when sacrificing at the altar, he not only forgave his intended murderer, but offered him his friendship, and afterwards raised him to the consulship, being resolved, it is said, to try the effect of clemency after having indulged so largely in cruelty, or being anxious rather to preserve that character of magnanimity which, since the overthrow of every enemy whom he dreaded, he might counterfeit with little danger. Various other stories of his moderation are recorded; his manners were affable and courteous to all; he forbade, and probably in sincerity, that any one should address him by the name of "dominus," or master[209]; and when the people wished to force upon him the ominous title of dictator, he threw himself on his knees, and casting off his robe, and baring his breast, intreated them rather to kill him, than to oblige him to accept it. In these points the example of his uncle always served as a useful warning to him; and he also learned from it to avoid every display of state in the appearance and manners of his family, in the size of his house, and in the regulation of his

[208] Seneca, de Clementiâ, I. 9, &c.

[209] Suetonius, 53, et seq.

establishment. Yet it would be unjust to ascribe to a politic premeditation all the popular actions of his reign. Good is in itself so much more delightful than evil, that he was doubtless not insensible to the pleasure of kind and beneficent actions, and, perhaps, sincerely rejoiced that they were no longer incompatible with his interest. When Valerius Messala was sent to him by the senate, to confer on him, in the name of the senate and people of Rome, the title of "father of his country [210]," he was affected even to tears, and replied, "I have now gained all that I desired, conscript fathers; and what have I left to pray for from the gods, but that I may preserve to the latest day of my life this same unanimous love of my countrymen?" He did preserve it, and even with an increased affection, in proportion as the remembrance of his former cruelties became less lively, and the period of general tranquillity which had commenced under his auspices was continually lengthening. At last, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, when he was going to accompany Tiberius as far as Beneventum, on the way to Illyricum, he was seized with a dysentery, which at first attacked him but slightly, and did not prevent him from fulfilling the object of his journey, after having spent some days on the coast of Campania, in the hope of recruiting his strength. But on his return from Beneventum his complaint grew more serious; he stopped at Nola, at the house which had belonged

His last sickness.

[210] Suetonius, 58.

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to his father, and in which his father had died; and as he became visibly worse, his wife Livia sent hasty messengers after Tiberius, to recall him instantly to the death-bed of the emperor. Meantime every thing that passed within the walls was concealed by Livia with the utmost care; insomuch, that although it was given out that Tiberius found his adopted father still alive[211], and had a long and affectionate interview with him, yet Tacitus informs us that it was never clearly ascertained whether these stories were not mere fabrications[212], and whether Augustus was not in reality already dead when Tiberius arrived at Nola. The same authority which related the conversation of the dying emperor with his successor, pretended also that he actually expired in the arms of his wife, and that his last words were, "Farewell, Livia, and ever be mindful of our long union." It was said that he died about three o'clock in the afternoon, on the nineteenth of August, in the year of Rome 766[213], and when he had in fact a little more than completed his seventy-sixth year.

His death. U.C. 766, A.D. 13.

His character.

Augustus was in his stature something below the middle size, but extremely well proportioned[214]; his hair was a little inclined to curl, and of a yellowish brown; his eyes were bright and lively, but the general expression of his countenance was remarkably calm and mild. His health was throughout his

[211] Suetonius, 97, et seq.

[212] See Suetonius and Velleius Paterculus.

[213] He was nominally born on the 23rd of September, U.C. 690, but owing to the disordered state of the calendar, it was in reality more nearly the 23rd of July.

[214] Suetonius, in Augusto, 79.

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life delicate, yet the constant attention which he paid to it, and his strict temperance in eating and drinking, enabled him, as we have seen, to reach the full age of man.. As a seducer and adulterer[215], and a man of low sensuality, his character was as profligate as that of his uncle; it is mentioned also, that he was extremely fond of gaming, a propensity which he indulged even when he was advanced in years. In his literary qualifications, without at all rivalling the attainments of Cæsar, he was on a level with most Romans of distinction of his time; and it is said, that both in speaking and writing, his style was eminent for its perfect plainness and propriety[216]. His speeches on any public occasion were composed beforehand, and recited from memory; nay, so careful was he not to commit himself by any inconsiderate expression, that even when discussing any important subject with his own wife, he wrote down what he had to say, and read it before her. Like his uncle, he was strongly tinged with superstition; he was very much afraid of thunder and lightning[217], and always carried about with him a seal-skin, as a charm against its power; notwithstanding which, in any severe storm, he was accustomed to hide himself in a chamber in the centre of his house, to be as much out of the way of it as possible; add to which, he was a great observer of dreams, and of lucky and unlucky days. He was totally destitute of military

[215] Suetonius, in Augusto, 69. et seq. 71.

[216] Suetonius, in Augusto, 84,

[217] Suetonius, in Augusto, 90.

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talent; but in every species of artful policy, in clearly seeing, and steadily and dispassionately following his own interest, and in turning to his own advantage all the weaknesses of others, his ability, if so it may be called, has been rarely equalled. His deliberate cruelty, his repeated treachery, and sacrifice of every duty and every feeling to the purposes of his ambition, have been sufficiently shown in the course of this narrative. But it was his good fortune, for the last forty years of his life, to be placed in circumstances in which he had no longer any temptation to the same kind of wickedness; and thus it has happened that he whose crimes fitted him to rank with Marius or Sylla, with Nero or with Domitian, has been loaded with praises as a benefactor to his species, and his name has passed into a proverb as a promoter of peace, and a general patron of literature and of civilization.

# CHAPTER XII.

## M. ULPIUS TRAJANUS CRINITUS.
## FROM A.D. 98 TO 117.



From A.D. 98 to 117.

BETWEEN the close of the reign of Augustus Cæsar and the accession of Trajanus, there elapsed a period of eighty-four years. During this period the Roman empire, notwithstanding the crimes of almost all its sovereigns, and the disturbances to which it had been occasionally exposed, had consolidated its widely scattered possessions, and its different provinces had learned to consider themselves as members of one great body. It was well prepared to feel the full blessing of an able and upright government, and such a blessing it was now going to experience for a term of equal length with the period of tyranny which had preceded it. The first eighty years, then, of the second century of the Christian æra may be regarded as the prime of manhood in the Roman empire, during which its excellences were most fully developed, while at the same time there were visible, even then, those evils which threw so dark a shade over its decline and fall. It is of this period that we wish to offer, not a picture, but such a sketch as our imperfect information will enable us to execute;

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connecting it with those particulars which we formerly gave of the state of the empire under Augustus, in order to show more clearly the changes which it had undergone since the first establishment of the imperial government.

The reign of Trajanus is in one respect peculiarly well fitted to be made the occasion of such a survey, as we are absolutely unable to offer a detailed account of its events. A few pages of an abridgment of the original history of Dion Cassius, and a few lines of Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, are all that we possess in the shape of a direct historical narrative of it. Of these scanty materials, by far the greatest part relates to the military expeditions of the emperor, and to those conquests of which he himself lived long enough to see the instability, and which his successor quietly abandoned. It were indeed a waste of our own time and that of our readers to dwell upon the events of the Dacian war, or the triumphs of Trajanus over the Parthians and Armenians. Unprofitable as is the detail of almost every war, there is none more utterly worthless than that which relates to the contest between a civilized and a barbarian people, which repeats the story of fancied provocations, of easy victories, and of sweeping conquests. Yet if we exclude the military operations of Trajanus from our account of his life, his historians and biographers furnish us with scarcely any materials. We shall first, therefore, give only a mere outline of the events of his reign in chronological order, and then, adopting a different arrangement

we shall regard the nature of the facts related, rather than the time of their occurrence.

At the moment of Nerva's death, Trajanus was still with the army in Germany [1]. He had been named consul the second time for that year, together with the emperor; and as Nerva died about the 27th of January [2], almost the whole term of his consulship remained unexpired when he succeeded to the sovereignty of the empire. He did not return to Rome till the beginning of the following year, having passed his consulship in Germany, where he was employed in confirming discipline among the soldiers, and in the civil administration of those important provinces. A third consulship was offered him as soon as his second was expired, as the emperors usually marked the first year of their reign by receiving that title and office; but Trajanus positively refused it. On his way home from Germany, he travelled in the quietest and most moderate manner [3]; his attendants were restrained from committing those excesses upon the persons and property of the people who lived near the line of his journey, which it seems were commonly practised by the train of the emperors. The expenses of his table were defrayed by the inhabitants of the provinces through which he travelled, according to the constant practice of the Roman magistrates; but this tax of purveyance, which the sovereigns of modern

[1] Pliny, Panegyric. 9. 56. 59. Sex. Aurel. Victor, in Trajano.

[2] Compare Suetonius, Domitian. 17; and Dion Cassius, LXVIII. 771.

[3] Pliny, Panegyric. 20.

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Europe exercised after the example of the Romans, was imposed by Trajanus with great moderation; and he could not forbear publishing a statement of the sums demanded by himself, contrasted with those which Domitianus had exacted, when he returned to Rome from the same part of the empire. His entrance into his capital[4] was in a similar spirit. Instead of being borne on a litter, according to the practice of former emperors, it was remarked that he walked behind his lictors, surrounded not by guards, but by the flower of the senate and the equestrian order; and that he bore with patience the frequent interruptions to his progress occasioned by the eagerness of the multitude thronging to behold him. He ascended the capitol to offer his prayers in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, on the same spot whereon Nerva, a short time before, had solemnly adopted him as his son and successor in the empire. Thence he retired to the palace, which he entered in the same unostentatious manner that had marked his behaviour through the day. It is added by Dion Cassius[5], that his wife Plotina had displayed a like temper when she first entered the imperial residence, for she stopped on the steps, and turning round to the multitude, said aloud, "I go into this house with the same mind that I should wish to bear in leaving it."

First measures of his government.

The popularity which Trajanus had gained by his former character, and by this fair commencement of

[4] Pliny, Panegyric. 22, et seq. [5] LXVIII. 771, edit. Leunclav.

his reign, was confirmed by some of his earliest measures, when he took into his hands the administration of government. His justice and firmness, his liberality, and his regard for the public morals, are all made the theme of his panegyrist's admiration. Caspinus Ælianus[6], the prefect of the prætorian guards, who had headed a mutiny of his soldiers in the reign of Nerva, and obliged the emperor to give up to their vengeance the assassins of Domitianus, had been sent for by Trajanus, previously to his entrance into Rome, and had been put to death. The delators, or informers, a race of men as numerous under the tyranny of the Roman emperors as ever the sycophants had been under that of the Athenian democracy, were banished to different islands, and their property confiscated; and if we may interpret literally the language of Pliny's Panegyric, they were sent off to their respective places of exile with so little delay, that the ships which carried them were obliged to put to sea before the end of the winter season, and the people enjoyed the thought that some of them were likely to perish on their voyage. On the other hand, the liberality of Trajanus was shown both by that which he gave, and by that which he resigned. The donative to the soldiers, and the congiarium, or largess to the people, as well as the shows of the circus, which he exhibited on his accession, were so much according to the common practice of other emperors, that they do not

[6] Dion Cassius, LXVIII. 771.

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deserve any particular notice. But he obtained a peculiar and well-earned glory, by providing for the maintenance of nearly five thousand children of free parents[7], in the different cities of Italy; and the example which he thus set was imitated by private individuals, as Pliny mentions[8] that he had settled an annual income of 300,000 sestertii on the town of Comum, for the maintenance of free-born children. The object of these liberalities was to encourage population amongst the free inhabitants of Italy; and there can be no better proof of the general corruption of manners, than that any such encouragement should have been needed. With these acts of munificence was combined, at the same time, the modification of one of the most obnoxious, but most productive taxes[9], the duty of five per cent. which was levied on all legacies, and even on the successions of the nearest relations, when entered upon by persons who had become citizens of Rome otherwise than by the right of birth. By the decree of Trajanus, those nearest in consanguinity, whether in the direct or collateral line, were exempted altogether from this tax; and no person whatever was liable to it, if the property to which he had succeeded was below a certain value. And while he provided for the future, he endeavoured also to remedy the oppressions of past reigns, by enacting that no arrears should be demanded in those cases in which the parties would be exempted for the future under the

[7] Pliny, Panegyric. 26. 28.
[8] Epist. VII. 18.
[9] Panegyric. 37.

law as now mitigated. But besides the direct taxes, the public treasury and the imperial fiscus had been long enriched by the irregular exactions of the officers of the government, and by the frequent confiscations of the property of individuals condemned under the imperial law of treasons. The first of these sources of unjust gain Trajanus stopped, by allowing justice to take its free course, and leaving the officers of the revenue to the punishments of the laws, if they exceeded the limits of their lawful authority; the other was destroyed by the banishment of the delators, and by the discouragement shown to all prosecutions for treasons, and particularly to the informations of slaves against their masters. These deductions from the revenue were made up for partly by a severe economy, and partly by the sale of a great number of lands and villas [10], which the rapacity and tyranny of former emperors had annexed to the imperial demesnes. By these means Trajanus was enabled to promote the execution of many public works in different parts of the empire, and to add to the magnificence of Rome, and to the comforts or pleasures of its inhabitants, by completing the forum [11] which Domitianus had begun, and by erecting or finishing several other buildings, a circus, some temples, and a colonnade or porticus. But while thus gratifying some of the prevailing tastes of the people, there were others which he strove to repress, as became him. The

[10] Panegyric. 36.

[11] Sex. Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus, in Trajano. Pliny, Panegyric. 51.

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exhibition of the pantomimes was prohibited [12]; an entertainment very different from that which is now known by the same name, and an outrage upon all decency, more shameless than any thing to be found in the obscurest scenes of profligacy in the capitals of modern Europe. According to Pliny, this prohibition was highly popular; and so it was, doubtless, with the most respectable part of the community; but there was always a vast multitude at Rome who forgave the cruelties of the most tyrannical emperors in consideration of their toleration of licentiousness, and to whom no government was so unwelcome as that which attempted to reform their vices.

The Dacian war.

But whatever were the virtues of Trajanus, he had not learnt to appreciate the misery and wickedness of war, nor to shrink with disgust from the reputation of a conqueror. Since the reign of Augustus, the conquests of the Romans in Dalmatia and Pannonia had made them acquainted with the name of the Dacians, a people who occupied both banks of the Danube, in that part of its course where it forms at present the southern boundary of Hungary. They were reputed to be of the same stock with the tribes who lived nearer the mouth of that river, and who, under the name of Getæ, were known to the earliest of the Greek historians. But the more inland situation of the Dacians kept them longer in obscurity; nor do we find them mentioned by any writer earlier than those of the Augustan age. It

[12] Panegyric. 46.

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is said indeed by Suetonius[13], that C. Julius Cæsar had projected an expedition against them, among those vast schemes of conquest which were cut short by his assassination; but however this be, in the reign of Augustus they first became engaged in actual hostilities with Rome; and their incursions across the Danube into the Roman territory, under the conduct of their king, Cotiso, were of sufficient importance to attract the notice of the court poets of the day[14], and to confer that renown which flattery is so ready to offer upon the efforts by which they were repulsed. At a later period, when the troops which defended the frontiers were drawn off to other quarters in the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasianus, the Dacians[15] again crossed the Danube, and committed hostilities on the Roman territory. More recently still, Domitianus[16] had claimed a triumph for his victories over them; but his pretended successes were an inadequate compensation for the defeats which they were intended to revenge; those of Appius, Sabinus, and of Cornelius Fuscus, the last of whom, after having materially contributed to the elevation of the Flavian family to the throne, perished in Dacia with the greater part of his army in the reign of Domitianus. Thus, when Trajanus succeeded to the empire, he judged, in the usual spirit of ambition and national pride, that the dignity

[13] In Julio Cæsare, 44; and in Augusto, 8.

[14] Horace, Carm. II. 20; III. 6. 8. Florus, IV. 12. Suetonius, Augusto, 21.

[15] Tacitus, Hist. III. 46.

[16] Suetonius, in Domitiano, 6. Dion Cassius, LXVII. 763, edit. Leunclav.

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of Rome required the chastisement of the Dacians. Grounds of hostility can never, in fact, be wanting between an ambitious civilized nation, and the barbarian tribes who border on its frontiers, and whose rude habits of plunder continually lead them to offer some real provocation; while, on the other side, self-defence is pleaded as an excuse for conquest; and injury is seldom repelled without being also retaliated. The Dacians were commanded by a chief whom the Romans called Decebalus, and who is represented as a man of ability and courage; but no personal qualities, however brilliant, could enable a barbarian leader to resist the power of the Roman empire when steadily and skilfully directed against him. Accordingly, he was soon driven to sue for peace[17], which he obtained on such conditions as were likely soon to lead to another war; for his people were obliged to surrender up their arms, to give up all deserters or fugitives who had fled to them from the Romans, to pull down their fortresses, to cede a portion of territory, and to become the dependent allies of Rome. These terms were observed as long as the impression of their defeats retained its original force; but in a very short time the Romans began to complain that they were collecting arms, and rebuilding their fortresses, and harbouring fugitives from the Roman territory; and Trajanus prepared to attack them again, glad, perhaps, that he was now furnished with a pretext,

[17] Dion Cassius, LXVIII. 773.

according to the usual policy of Rome, for completing the conquest of their country.

At the outset of his expedition, he indicated by his conduct that he meditated more than a temporary inroad into the enemy's territory. Hitherto the Danube had been regarded as the limit of the empire; but Trajanus proposed to create a Roman province to the north of that river, and a permanent bridge over it became a necessary work, to facilitate the communication with this remote portion of his dominions. Accordingly, he completed one on a scale of magnificence, if we may believe Dion Cassius, superior to that of all his other works. He tells us[18], that there were twenty piers of stone, at intervals of 170 feet from each other, and that each of these was in height 150 feet above the foundations, and sixty feet wide. The arches which connected them were probably made of wood, and could thus be taken down with the greater facility, which we are told was done by the emperor Hadrianus, who took away all the upper part of the bridge, and left merely the piers standing. We believe that the exact site of this famous work has not been ascertained, nor are we aware that any researches have been made to determine it, or to learn what is the extent of the actual remains; but according to D'Anville, it was built at a spot called Ram, about four leagues above Orsova, and about a hundred miles below Belgrade.

[18] LXVIII. 776.

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Final conquest of Dacia.

As soon as the bridge was finished, the conquest of Dacia was speedily effected. Decebalus[19], seeing all his efforts useless, and his palace in the hands of the enemy, killed himself; and his treasures, which he is said to have concealed under the bed of the river Sargetius, were betrayed to the Romans by one of his officers, and by turning the course of the stream, were discovered and carried off. Dacia was reduced to the form of a province, and some Roman colonies were settled in it, the principal of which was called Ulpia Trajana, and was established at Zamisegethusa, the ancient capital of the country, on one of the streams which flow from the east into the Theyss.

Return of Trajanus to Rome.

After the conclusion of this war, Trajanus returned to Rome, and gratified the people by rejoicings celebrated on the most magnificent scale; for, according to Dion Cassius[20], the different shows that were exhibited lasted for four months, in the course of which no fewer than ten thousand gladiators are said to have fought for the amusement of the multitude.

His forum and pillar.

It was in commemoration also of the conquest of Dacia, that the famous pillar in the forum of Trajanus was erected; although it was not completed till the seventeenth year of his reign. The height of this pillar is 128 Roman feet[21], and the whole shaft is covered with bas-reliefs, representing the exploits of the emperor in both his Dacian expeditions. But the most remarkable circumstance connected with

[19] Dion Cassius, XLVIII. 777.
[20] P. 777.
[21] Burton, Antiquities of Rome, 171, et seq.

it, is the excavation of the ground, which was effected preparatory to its erection; for the inscription upon its base declares, that the hill had been cut away from the height of the pillar, to form the level space on which the forum of Trajanus was built. These great changes in the appearance of the ground on which Rome is built, should always be borne in mind when we attempt to reconcile its present condition with the descriptions of ancient writers.

Dispute with Parthia concerning the investiture of the kings of Armenia.

Whilst Trajanus remained at Rome, he is said[22] to have commenced the work of making roads or causeways through the Pomptine marshes, to have issued a new coinage, and to have founded several public libraries. But his military ardour had been influenced by his late conquests, and he was ambitious of winning triumphs over the Parthians, and other Eastern nations, as he had already been victorious over the enemies of Rome in Europe. The pretext for this new war was an alleged affront offered to the dignity of the empire by Chosroes, the king of Parthia, who had conferred the crown of Armenia, by his own authority, on a prince named Exedares, instead of allowing him to receive the diadem from the sovereign of Rome. Ever since the victories of Lucullus and Cn. Pompeius, the Romans pretended to regard Armenia as one of their dependent kingdoms; and this claim had given rise to various contests between them and the Parthians, who viewed it, on the other hand, as a kind

[22] Dion Cassius, LXVIII. 777.

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of appanage of the crown of Parthia. The neighbourhood of the Parthians, and the unwarlike character of several of the Roman emperors, had made the Parthian influence in Armenia really predominant; but the right of the Romans had never been relinquished, and was likely to be enforced by any ambitious prince who thirsted for the glory of eastern conquests. Accordingly, it was now insisted on by Trajanus, and preparations were made on a great scale to maintain it by force of arms. The Parthian king, unwilling to involve himself in a war, deposed Exedares, and nominated Parthamasiris, his own brother, as his successor; at the same time sending an embassy with presents to Trajanus announcing this act, and requesting him to bestow the diadem, according to the right of investiture which he claimed as emperor of Rome, on the prince whom he had just placed on the throne. For it seems, that the right of the Romans was little more than a form, and that they only installed the sovereign whom the Parthians had previously nominated; as in the reign of Nero, when Vologeses, king of Parthia, had seated his brother Tiridates on the throne of Armenia, it was agreed that Tiridates should go to Rome to receive his investiture at the hands of the emperor. But now Trajanus, bent upon conquest, rejected the presents brought him by the ambassadors, and replied to their communication with the characteristic haughtiness of a Roman general, saying, that the king of Parthia should manifest his friendly disposition rather by deeds than by words,

and that when he should have arrived in Syria, the Romans would then do that which was fitting to be done.

The narrative of Dion Cassius becomes here only a collection of disjointed fragments, preserved by his abbreviators, so that it does not appear whether the negotiation was renewed on the arrival of Trajanus in Syria. It was at all events ineffectual; and the Roman army advanced into Armenia, where they were met by the satraps and petty princes of the neighbouring districts, who came to make their submissions and to offer presents. Meantime, Parthamasiris had laid aside the style and title of king, and had written to request that M. Junius, the governor of Cappadocia, might be sent to him, as if he wished, through his intercession with the emperor, to obtain some favourable terms. His request was refused; but the son of Junius was sent to him, and he was probably given to understand, that he must present himself in person before Trajanus. The emperor was now at Elegia, a town of Armenia, having as yet not experienced any opposition; and hither Parthamasiris repaired [23], in order, as he supposed, to go through the ceremony of investiture, which he the less doubted that he should obtain, as the public humiliation thus imposed upon him seemed at least a sufficient atonement for any offence which the Romans might pretend to have received. Accordingly, when Trajanus was seated on his tri-

[23] Dion Cassius, LXVIII. 779.

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bunal in the midst of his camp, Parthamasiris appeared before him, and having saluted him, took off the diadem from his own head, and laid it at the emperor's feet. When he had done this, he stood silent for a few moments, expecting that Trajanus, as a matter of course, would desire him to resume it; but when he said nothing, and the soldiers with loud shouts addressed their sovereign as "imperator," considering that the act which they had just witnessed was equivalent to the absolute surrender of Armenia to the Roman dominions, Parthamasiris started, and apprehending some attempt upon his person or liberty, turned in order to leave the camp. But when the soldiers opposed his passage, he requested a private interview with Trajanus, and went with the emperor into his tent. Their conference was unsatisfactory, and Parthamasiris left the tent in great indignation; but he was again detained by the emperor's order, and was desired, with the usual indelicacy of the Romans, to state his cause publicly in the hearing of the whole army. Coarse and insolent as was this proposal, Parthamasiris did not decline it; but standing before the emperor's tribunal, he indignantly asserted that he was betrayed, and not conquered; that he had come freely into the Roman camp, in the confidence that when he had gone through the ceremony of homage, his right to the crown of Armenia would be instantly allowed. Trajanus, who perceived himself now strong enough to avow his injustice without scruple, replied, that Armenia belonged to the Romans, and should obey

none but a Roman sovereign; that the Armenian followers of Parthamasiris must, therefore, remain with the Roman army, but that he himself and his Parthians were at liberty to depart whithersoever they thought proper. The disgraceful conclusion of this scene we learn from one of the newly-discovered fragments of the works of M. Cornelius Fronto, the orator[24]. Parthamasiris refused to submit to this treacherous outrage, and, with a courage that heeded not his unequal condition, attempted to force his way out of the camp. In this attempt he was naturally unsuccessful, and being taken prisoner, to crown the atrocity of the conduct of Trajanus, he was put to death.

Armenia having been thus surprised rather than conquered, Trajanus left garrisons in its principal fortresses, and marching southwards from Elegia, arrived at Edessa. Here he was hospitably received by Abgarus, prince of that district, who now thought it his best policy to propitiate the Romans to the utmost. Some others also of the petty sovereigns who lived on the outskirts of the Parthian empire, expressed their readiness to receive his commands; and he thus made himself master of the town of Singara, and some other places in Upper Mesopotamia, without any opposition. At this point, the narrative of Dion Cassius breaks off abruptly, and

[24] Principia Historiæ, Fragment. IV. "Trajano cædes Parthamasiris regis haud satis excusata. Tametsi ultro ille vim cœptans, tumultu orto, merito interfectus est, meliore tamen Romanorum famâ impunè supplex abisset, quam jure supplicium luisset."

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the next remaining fragment of his work belongs to a period nearly ten years later. But it is certain, from the evidence of inscriptions, that Trajanus did not gain further conquests at this time; and we may suppose, that after his occupation of Armenia he had no longer any pretence of hostility against the king of Parthia, and that, as that monarch was content to abandon Armenia to him, he led back his army, and returned to Rome.

Chronology of the reign of Trajanus.

The events which we have just recorded seem to have taken place about the tenth year of the reign of Trajanus; and it was probably for his triumph over Parthamasiris that he assumed the title of "imperator" for the sixth time. In the inscription on the famous bridge over the Tagus at Alcantara[25], which bears date the ninth year of his reign, he is styled "imperator" for the fifth time; and Dion Cassius tells us, that he received that title again from the acclamations of his soldiers, when they beheld the unfortunate Parthamasiris surrendering to him his crown. But in the inscription on the pillar erected in the middle of his forum at Rome, and which is dated in the seventeenth year of his reign, he is described as imperator only for the sixth time[26]; so that a decisive proof is thus obtained, that during seven years he gained no signal victories; and as his wars were nothing but a succession of victories, we may fairly conclude, that from

[25] Gruter, Corpus Inscription. I. 247. Burton's Antiquities of Rome, 172.

[26] Gruter, Corpus Inscription. I. 162.

the tenth to the seventeenth year of his reign he remained at peace, and employed himself in the civil administration of his empire. Between the completion of his pillar and his death, the rapidity of his conquests is marked by the accumulation of his titles of imperator; for on the column, as we have seen, he is described only as imperator for the sixth time, but inscriptions of a date two years later [27], in the nineteenth year of his reign, call him imperator for the eleventh time. We shall avail ourselves then of this peaceful period of nearly seven years, the events of which we are unable to relate chronologically, from the total want of all regular annals of this reign, to offer a general view of the state of the empire, and of the character of the emperor's government.

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Adopting the same arrangement which we formerly pursued in our life of Augustus, the foreign relations of Rome will first claim our notice. And here the picture which we gave of the state of affairs under Augustus will require little alteration. Some acquisitions of territory had indeed been made previous to the recent conquests of Trajanus in Dacia. Our own island, after having been first conquered in the reign of Claudius, and subsequently held with a doubtful grasp during the last years of Nero, and the civil wars which followed his death, had been finally subdued and settled by Cn. Agricola, whose merits have been transmitted to posterity, perhaps

Of the external relations of Rome.

[27] Gruter, I. 248, and an inscription on a bridge over the river Metaurus, on the old Flaminian road, between Furlo and Fossombrone, which we copied on the spot in 1825.

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with some exaggeration, by the affection and eloquence of his son-in-law, Tacitus. In the other extremity of the empire, Jerusalem had been destroyed, after a resistance such as the Romans had seldom experienced from an enemy so unequal. Some changes had taken place also, rather in the nominal than in the real condition of countries [28] already in fact subject to the authority of Rome, but retaining the form of an independent government; and some barbarous tribes had in the lapse of years been more effectually subdued, or had gradually become more familiarized to the Roman dominion. But still, as in the reign of Augustus, the Parthians and Germans were the only nations whom the Romans found capable of maintaining a contest with them almost on equal terms. The Parthian power was indeed somewhat on the decline, and it was destined to receive from Trajanus severer blows than it had ever yet sustained. But the Germans were as unbroken as ever; nor had the Romans again ventured since the defeat of Varus to extend their frontier beyond the Rhine. The title of Germanicus, fondly assumed by so many emperors, was the best proof that none had fully deserved it, and that the conqueror of Germany was as yet unborn.

[28] Cappadocia, from a dependent kingdom, had been reduced to a province as early as the reign of Tiberius. Tacitus, Annal. II. 42. A part of Pontus, which still was governed by a king of its own, shared the same fate in the reign of Nero. Tacitus, Hist. III. 47; Eutropius in Nerone. Rhodes, Lycia, and some other places, were in like manner made provinces by Vespasianus. Suetonius, in Vespasian. 8; Eutropius, in Vespasian.

Its internal state. 1. Of the government.

Nothing then remains to divert our attention from the internal state of the empire. In our life of Augustus we attempted to mark the easy steps by which the old constitution had been converted into a monarchy, by showing that it contained within it all the elements of despotic power, while there was enough of servility and helplessness in the people at large, to make them almost welcome as a relief their exclusion from all share in the government. Our business will now be to delineate the imperial constitution in its matured state, and to notice some of those points in which the forms of freedom which still subsisted in the days of Augustus had been since overthrown. The government was now become an acknowledged monarchy. In the time of Augustus it was but a sort of perpetual dictatorship, bestowed by the senate and people on the most distinguished citizen of the Commonwealth, as a remedy for the disorders occasioned by so many years of civil war. But the adoption first of the sons of Agrippa, and afterwards of Tib. Claudius Nero, into the Julian family, made it evident that the new state of things was designed to be perpetual; and so natural is the notion of hereditary right, that even while the monarchy was thus recent, the succession was thought to belong to the family of the actual sovereign; and in the failure of his immediate descendants, he was allowed to adopt whomsoever he thought proper, as the presumptive heir to the imperial power. On the death of Augustus, the senate, by conferring all his extraordinary prerogatives on

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Tiberius, decreed in fact the final extinction of the Commonwealth. The temporary reason before assigned for vesting the government in the hands of a single person, was now exchanged for one of general and lasting application; the disorders of the civil wars had been long since repaired by the peaceful administration of Augustus; but it was now discovered that the empire was too vast to be governed by the senate and people, and required the vigour and unity of a monarchy; and thus, until the provinces should be dismembered, the Roman people seemed to resign for ever its old authority. The feeble attempt made by the senate to resume the government, after the murder of Caligula, did not last longer than two days; and from that time, even when the succession to the imperial power was most disputed, yet none ever proposed the restoration of the Commonwealth.

It was far more monarchical than in the time of Augustus.

We have said, that even Augustus, when he adopted Tiberius as his son, designed to make him his successor in the empire. But the throne was never considered as actually hereditary, so that the natural or adopted son ascended it by the right of his birth, whenever the death of his father had left it vacant. By the theory of the constitution, if we may apply so noble a term to the imperial government of Rome, the emperor was still intrusted by the senate with the management of the republic, and each succeeding sovereign derived his power according to law solely from their authority. It is difficult to say whether the consent of the army was legally

necessary to the validity of an election, although in reality it determined the whole transaction. The new emperor was saluted as such by the soldiers, and he promised them a donative in return; and the opposition of the senate to their choice must have been necessarily fruitless. It is possible, too, that the army may have been regarded in some measure as the representative of the people, and their voice may have been esteemed the sole remnant of the popular part of the old constitution. The comitia no longer assembled for the election of magistrates after the accession of Tiberius[29]; and although statutes (leges) and decrees of the commons (plebiscita) are acknowledged among the sources of the Roman law, even in the time of T. Antoninus and M. Aurelius, yet the votes of the tribes in enacting laws as well as in appointing magistrates had become no more than an empty form[30]. In their place the constitutions of the emperor were allowed to have the force of laws[31], and these gradually became more frequent, as the remembrance of free institutions became in every successive generation fainter and fainter. It may be noticed also, as a mark of the more avowed monarchical character which the government assumed within

[29] We have said, "for the *election* of magistrates," because the comitia even in the reign of Trajanus assembled in the Campus Martius, to go through the form of nominating those persons consuls, prætors, &c., who had been previously chosen by the senate. See Heineccius, I. Append. § 65; and Creuzer, Romisch. Antiquitat. 121.

[30] See Hugo, Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Römischen Rechts, 611, 612, edit. 1824.

[31] Gaius, Institution, I. § 5. Nec unquam dubitatum est, quin id (sc. Constitutio Principis) legis vicem obtineat.

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a century after the death of the first emperor, that the title of dominus, or master, as opposed to slave, which Augustus disclaimed with indignation [32], is familiarly bestowed on Trajanus by his friend Pliny, even in his private correspondence with him.

Of the imperial law of treasons.

But the instrument by which the emperors had perpetrated the worst acts of their tyranny was provided by the new imperial law of treasons. Under the Commonwealth, the crime of "majestas læsa vel imminuta" was held to extend not only to those actions which our law regards as treasonable, such as conspiring to levy war against the state, or joining the enemy in war, but to a great variety of other offences of less magnitude, such as rioting, or gross misconduct in the management of a war, or the usurpation of the state and authority of a magistrate by any private person. Nor were even words always exempted from its operation, if the story told of Claudia be deserving of credit, who was tried, during the first Punic war, for a passionate expression uttered against the people, when her carriage was stopped in the streets by the pressure of the crowd. Whilst the Commonwealth lasted, however, the severity of the laws was not amongst the prevailing evils; and although many individuals who ought to have been punished were never brought to justice, no innocent man, probably, was ever a sufferer from the law of treason as it was then established. With the imperial government new maxims and a new

[32] Suetonius, in Augusto, 53.

spirit of criminal jurisprudence were introduced: the emperor was invested with all the majesty of the Commonwealth, and to attempt his life [33], or to levy war against his authority, were naturally, as in every monarchy, regarded as acts of treason. But the jealousy of Augustus, and still more of Tiberius, extended the same appellation to every thing that could be construed into disrespect to the person or dignity of the emperor. Not only were libels punishable with death [34], and expressions adjudged to be libellous, which the worst despotism of modern times would never have attempted to question; but even words spoken in private society were liable to the same penalty; and it was treasonable to consult astrologers as to the fate of the emperor [35], to melt down or sell a statue of an emperor who had been deified [36], to take the head off from it [37], to scourge a slave, or to undress, close to it, with some other things so monstrous, that if they did not rest on good contemporary testimony we should reject them as utterly incredible. The offence was proceeded against in the same spirit of tyranny by which it was defined: for persons held to be infamous [38], and whose evidence was not admissible in other cases,

[33] Digest. XLVIII. Tit. 4. Paullus, Sentent. Recipt. Tit. 29.

[34] Tacitus, Annal. IV. 34; XIV. 48.

[35] Tacitus, Annal. III. 22.

[36] Digest. XLVIII. Tit. 4. The atrocity of the law of treason may be estimated by the nature of those acts which the lawyers thought proper to specify as exempted from its penalties. "Non contrahit crimen Majestatis qui statuas Cæsaris vetustate corruptas reficit. Nec qui lapide jactato incerto, fortuito statuam attigerit, crimen Majestatis commisit." Digest. XLVIII. Tit. 4.

[37] Suetonius, in Tiberio, 58.

[38] Digest. ubi supra.

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were in these received as accusers; freedmen might impeach their patrons, and slaves their own masters; both of which acts the Romans regarded in general with the utmost horror; and persons of the highest rank, at least in the reign of Severus, might be examined by torture [39]. If condemned, criminals of all ranks were punished with death, and those of humble condition, by one of those atrocious distinctions characteristic of the vilest tyranny, were either thrown to wild beasts or burned alive. The property of the victim was forfeited; and if the charge extended to the act of levying war against the emperor [40], the forfeiture took place even when the accused died before his trial, unless his heirs could prove his innocence.

A law so odious bred a race of informers well fitted to pander to its cruelty. Under the worst emperors they swelled accordingly into a numerous and formidable body, composed of the vilest individuals of every rank, who abused the confidence of private society to report some word or action which the imperial law of treason rendered criminal. Such a system rendered the very name of justice unpopular; and real crimes sometimes escaped with impunity, or were undeservedly pardoned at the accession of a better emperor, from the universal hatred felt towards all prosecutions [41], and the indis-

[39] Paullus, ubi supra.

[40] Digest. ubi supra.

[41] Tacitus, Hist. I. 77. Placuit ignoscentibus verso nomine, quod avaritia fuerat videri Majestatem; cujus tum odio etiam bonæ leges peribant.

criminate compassion entertained for all who had incurred the penalties of the laws. Nor is it amongst the least evils of a tyrannical code, that even after it has been mitigated by a virtuous sovereign, there is perpetually danger of its being again revived in all its horrors in some succeeding reign. The precedent of a bad example is far more effectual in countenancing wickedness, than that of a good one in restraining it; and thus, although Trajanus banished the informers, and suspended the operation of the law of treason, yet the race of the one soon sprang up again, and the enactments of the other remained in existence to be again called into action by a Commodus or a Caracalla.

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The excellence of the Roman law in other respects.

It were unjust, however, to estimate the general character of the Roman law from the provisions of the lex majestatis; or to receive our impression of the political condition of the Roman people from those tragical details with which the histories of these times are chiefly filled. The imperial system had been engrafted upon a free constitution, and upon the laws of a free people; both of which it entirely overturned, wherever they interfered with its own immediate interests: but as the principles of a corrupt system will survive many partial reforms of particular institutions, so although the principles of liberty and wisdom at Rome had been crippled in many most important points in their practical application, still their existence was not extinguished, and their influence was even yet plainly perceptible. The great lawyers of the age of the Antonines passed

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hastily over the odious page which contained the law of treason, and delighted to fix their attention on those wise and liberal provisions which concerned the persons and properties of citizens in their dealings with one another, wherever the government did not interfere. From the excellence of the Roman law in these points arose the eminent fame, so justly earned by its professors amidst the general decline of all other studies. It was here only that the wisdom of better times was still practically useful, and might be profitably emulated; so that talents and integrity naturally turned themselves to that field which alone was open to their exertions; and when the higher duties of a statesman were inaccessible or neglected, those of a lawyer were fulfilled in an enlightened spirit which later times have been far from imitating.

The imperial tyranny was most felt at Rome, and by the higher orders.

Nor should it be forgotten that the imperial tyranny, which deluged Rome with blood, affected but little the condition of the provinces; and that even at Rome itself, its victims were principally chosen from the highest classes, while the mass of the community suffered from it comparatively nothing. It was, indeed, a bitter change for the patricians and the equestrian order, to have their proud and luxurious security invaded by executioners, and to be exposed every hour, at the caprice of their tyrant, to banishment or death. But to the plebeians, to the inhabitants of the provinces, and to the slaves, the spirit of the monarchy was certainly not more insolent and oppressive than that of the

old aristocracy; nor did the worst excesses of the Cæsars ever produce such wide-spreading misery as the triumph of the aristocratical party under Sylla. Even Cicero had regarded the grant of the "jus Latii," conferred by Cæsar on the inhabitants of Sicily[42], as an intolerable affront to the dignity of Rome. But now the rights of Latin citizenship were enjoyed by all the inhabitants of Spain[43]; while the Gauls had received the higher privilege of becoming citizens of Rome[44], and were thus admissible to the highest offices in the empire. These two great countries were fast acquiring those marks of intimate union with Italy, which all the revolutions of after-ages were unable to efface. Gaul, in particular, began to take a principal part in the civil wars, and entered into them more with the zeal of an integral portion of the state, than like a province contending merely for the choice of masters. When Julius Vindex revolted against Nero, his main support was in the devotion of the people of Gaul to his cause; and their efforts were rewarded by Galba with the gift of Roman citizenship, and the reduction of a fourth part of their taxation for ever.

But it did not remove the evils of the old constitution.

But although the monarchy did not increase the evils to which the greatest part of the subjects of the empire were liable, yet we must confess that it did little to remove them. That hateful pride, which made the Romans so careless of the sufferings of

[42] Epist. ad Atticum, XIV. 12. Multa illis (Siculis) Cæsar, neque me invito: etsi Latinitas erat non ferenda; verumtamen.

[43] Pliny, Hist. Nat. III. 3.

[44] Tacitus, Hist. I. 8; IV. 74.

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those whom they considered their inferiors, was an effectual bar to any attempts to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, or to check the abuses of power when exercised only against the poor and ignoble. When in the reign of Nero [45], Pedanius Secundus was murdered by one of his slaves, his whole household, consisting of four hundred slaves of both sexes and of all ages, were ordered, according to ancient practice, to be put to death. The populace of Rome, whose natural humanity had not been quite extinguished by the callousness of rank and wealth, rose in tumult to resist the execution. Upon this, the case was debated in the senate, and C. Cassius, the most celebrated lawyer of his day, strongly urged the expediency of enforcing the sentence. His opinion was approved by a large majority; and to prevent the possibility of a rescue, Nero lined the streets with troops, whilst these four hundred human beings, most of whom were undoubtedly innocent, and amongst whose number were old men, women, and children, were led to an indiscriminate butchery. So also in the reign of Tiberius, four thousand freedmen [46], mostly Jews and Egyptians, and guilty of no other crime than that of practising the religious rites of their respective countries, were expelled from Rome, and sent into Sardinia to repress the banditti of that island, a service which, from the unhealthiness of the climate, was almost equivalent to a sentence of death; "but if they perished," says

[45] Tacitus, Annal. XIV. 42, et seq. [46] Tacitus, Annal. II. 85.

Tacitus, "their loss was of no consequence." The same pride showed itself in more trifling matters, in the behaviour of the great to the humbler classes of society. The door of a wealthy and noble Roman was crowded before day-break by visitors who came to pay their court to him [47], and who, after undergoing the most insolent treatment from his porter, were seldom admitted to an interview with himself, but were answered by one of his servants; or if he did condescend to see them, they bent down to the ground before him, and kissed his hand with oriental servility. Hence, a number of subordinate oppressions were practised in the provinces, and especially in the more inconsiderable towns; so that we read of a request preferred by the people of Juliopolis in Bithynia [48], in the reign of Trajanus, to have a centurion resident among them to protect them from injury. The same feeling also tended to encourage the insolence of the army towards the people, wherever they were quartered. Since Marius first changed the character of the legions by filling them with citizens of the poorest classes, and still more since the civil wars of the two first Cæsars, the soldiers had learnt to regard themselves as a distinct body in the nation, to whose superior merit and importance all other citizens should pay deference. Then all who did not belong to the army were designated by the term "pagani," which soon became used contemptuously, and thus in itself afforded

[47] Lucian, de Moribus Philosophorum, p. 20, edit. 1615.

[48] Pliny, Epist. X. 81.

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a proof of the undue supremacy of those who could venture to stigmatize all other members of the community. But their offensive behaviour was not confined to words; and we learn from history, no less than from the lively picture of the satirist [49], that the soldiers were in the habit of using personal violence to the provincials and to the Roman citizens of humble condition; nor did the injured party dare to seek for redress, lest he should provoke the resentment of the offender's comrades.

Helplessness of the people encouraged by government.

The worst effect, however, of the imperial dominion, as of that of the Commonwealth, was the helplessness of mind which a cowardly policy taught it to encourage amongst the people of the provinces. It was maintained by Aristotle [50], that a state could not consist of so great a number as a hundred thousand citizens; and although we may smile at the exaggeration of this doctrine, yet it was founded on the justest notions of the duties of a political society, where all should have a common interest, and should be keenly alive to the welfare of each other, and of the whole body. The Greeks, therefore, distinguished between a state and a dominion; and it was by the latter name that they characterized that vast mass of countries yoked together at the time of which we are treating under the sovereignty of Rome. The inhabitants then of the greatest part of the empire were subjects, and not citizens; and that activity and attention to public affairs

[49] St. Luke III. 14. Juvenal, Sat. XVI.

[50] Ethic. Nicomach. IX. 10.

which is the great virtue of a citizen, is most unwelcome to a sovereign when he sees it in his subjects. An enlightened despot, like Trajanus, is frequently desirous of promoting the good of his people, but he dreads to see them able and zealous to promote their own; not considering that wealth and security lose half their value when they are passively received from another; and that men will dwindle into children in understanding and energy, when they are obliged to depend in childlike helplessness on the protection of their rulers. It is remarkable, with what exceeding suspicion Trajanus regarded every thing like a principle of internal organization and self-dependence in the people of his empire. A destructive fire had broken out at Nicomedia in Bithynia[51], and had been greatly aggravated by the apathy of the people, who looked on without attempting to extinguish it. To prevent the recurrence of such accidents, Pliny, who was then proconsul of the province, recommended the institution of a company of engineers, to consist of a hundred and fifty persons, who were to have, we may suppose, a monopoly of the business of firemen, and would know how to act with effect whenever their services were wanted. But Trajanus objected to the proposal, on the express ground, that he did not like the principle of association, as it might lead to factions. On another occasion, the people of Amisus begged to be allowed, according to their

[51] Pliny, Epist. X. 42, 43.

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own laws [52], to give their ἔρανοι, or public entertainments to the poorer classes, furnished by the subscriptions of the rich. Trajanus consented, as Amisus was a free and confederate city, and was governed by its own laws; but he expressed his hope, that the entertainments might not be abused for purposes of tumult or unlawful assemblies; and he strictly forbade them in all the cities of the province which were more immediately subject to the Roman jurisdiction. In the same spirit, Pliny, in a letter to the emperor, expresses his fears lest a practice prevalent in his province, of the richer inhabitants assembling on certain joyful occasions a great number of the common people, and giving them a largess of one or two denarii a man, should grow into a means of political influence. Nor should we omit to mention, the constant reference made by the people of the provinces to the government, when they wished to execute any public works of ornament or utility. Sometimes pecuniary assistance is requested, at other times permission is asked to devote a part of the revenue of a corporation to such purposes, or the emperor is applied to, to send surveyors and engineers to direct the operations. It seems as if the people had in themselves no principle of activity, but were taught on every occasion to look for aid or for permission to the government. In the reign of Trajanus certainly, the government was sufficiently ready to promote any scheme of improve-

[52] Pliny, Epist. X. 93, 94.

ment that promised to be beneficial; but when other emperors succeeded, who had neither the ability nor the disposition to forward such plans, the evil of encouraging helplessness in the people became apparent, and when the provinces were neglected by their rulers, they had lost the energy to act for themselves. From A.D. 98 to 117.

We have been led insensibly to encroach upon a topic which belongs more properly to a subsequent part of this sketch. But the transition, from considering the nature of the imperial government to an inquiry into the state of the people, is so faintly marked that it is difficult when speaking of the one to forbear all mention of the other. We now, however, propose to proceed expressly to this second division of our subject; and to illustrate the physical and moral condition of the inhabitants of the Roman empire, by some notices on each of these following points:—1st, the amount of the national wealth, its distribution, security, and the degree and manner in which it was affected by the government; 2nd, the state of literature and general knowledge; and 3rd, that of morality, in the highest sense of the term, including our duties to God as well as to man.

1. It is probable that agriculture, at least in the western provinces, had made considerable progress since the reign of Augustus. We do not mean that it was better understood than formerly in those countries where it had been long since practised; but that the gradual establishment of the Roman power had diffused a knowledge of it amongst

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people to whom it had been hitherto very imperfectly known, and from the union of so many parts of the world under one government, the natural productions of one country were introduced into another [53], and a benefit was thus conferred on mankind which survived the devastations of after-ages. The wealth and fertility of Gaul are spoken of in high terms [54]; its corn and flax were particularly noted [55]; and different methods of manuring the land were practised [56], which argue a state of considerable civilization. Even Britain, which had been so much more recently conquered, bore marks of the benefits which it derived from its connexion with the Roman empire. There, too, the use of marl for manure was familiarly known, and the cherry had been already introduced [57], a fact deserving of notice, as it shows that not only the most necessary articles of food, but fruits and vegetables, for comfort and luxury, found their way into the provinces very soon after their conquest. The whole coast of Spain is pronounced by Pliny [58] to be the finest country, except Italy, with which he was acquainted; and the list of towns which he has given us in Lusitania, and the northern part of Spain, marks the advances made by those provinces since the time of Strabo. We hear much, it is true, of the decay of agriculture in Italy itself, and the greater part of

[53] Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXVII. 1.
[54] Tacitus, Hist. IV. 73, 74.
[55] Pliny, Hist. Nat. XVIII. 8, 9; XIX. 1.
[56] Pliny, Hist. Nat. XVII. 6—8.
[57] Pliny, Hist. Nat. XV. 25.
[58] Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXXVII. 13.

that country seems to have been no more than a pleasure-ground for the wealthy Romans, while their farms for profit were in the provinces; but the north of Italy must probably be excepted from this description, as its towns were more numerous and flourishing than those of the south and centre, and its inhabitants were said to retain a simpler and purer character [59]. It was probably owing to the increased resources of the western provinces that Rome was enabled, on one memorable occasion in the reign of Trajanus [60], to send large supplies of corn to Egypt, when, owing to an extraordinary drought, the Nile had not afforded its usual salutary inundation. This peaceful triumph of Italy is celebrated by Pliny as one of the greatest glories of the age of Trajanus; and he extols the happy effects of civilization, which had now connected the most remote countries together, and had obviated the evils of an accidental scarcity in one province, by enabling it instantly to be relieved by the superfluous plenty of another.

Of commerce.

To what extent internal commerce was carried between the different parts of the empire, it is scarcely possible to form an accurate judgment. The more general expressions of historians are of little value, because they speak comparatively rather than absolutely; and no one can doubt that the activity of trade under the emperors must have appeared exceedingly great, when compared with any former period of history. As to the foreign commerce, which

[59] Pliny, Epist. I. 14.

[60] Pliny, Panegyric. 30. et seq.

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was mostly carried on with India, the principal articles thus imported were silks and other luxuries, for which there was a great demand among persons of the highest fortune, but they were not used by the mass of the people.

Condition of the people at large.

It is sufficiently clear, that a wealthy Roman could command many comforts and luxuries; but how far comforts or even necessaries were within the reach of the majority of the inhabitants of the empire is a much more difficult and a more important question. The place of our labourers and operatic manufacturers being almost entirely supplied by slaves, we have no opportunity of comparing the price of labour with that of provision, the surest criterion of public prosperity, if the welfare of the majority be justly regarded as the welfare of the nation. But it seems probable, that the free population of the Roman empire was small in proportion to the extent of its territory; and thus, that there was little of that severe distress which visits more thickly-peopled countries, even where their moral and political institutions are far superior to those of Rome. In Italy itself, several laws were enacted to discourage celibacy, and peculiar privileges were conferred on the father of a numerous family. That these provisions were not dictated by a mere undistinguishing desire of multiplying the number of citizens, is proved not only by the general complaints which we meet with of the decay of the free population, but by the remark of Pliny, that most [61] persons thought even one

[61] Epist. IV. 15.

child an inconvenience; and by the number of instances in which a successor to the imperial dignity was obtained by adoption, because the emperor had no natural heir. We may suppose that the eastern provinces were in this respect similarly circumstanced, for their morals in general were sufficiently licentious, and the unnatural indifference of parents to the fate of their children appears from one[62] of Pliny's letters, in which he describes the foundlings in his province of Bithynia as forming a numerous body, and states that many of them when exposed were picked up by persons who made a profit of selling them for slaves. In the western provinces, where the physical and moral character of the people was more favourable to population, their situation was that of new countries, where the inhabitants have not yet had time to multiply in proportion to the means of subsistence. We must consider too, when calculating the comforts of the Roman people, that the climate under which they lived enabled them to dispense with many things, the want of which in the north of Europe is a sensible privation. Well-built houses, a plentiful supply of fuel, and a large quantity of substantial food, were not to them objects of the first necessity. As amongst their descendants at this day, their principal enjoyments were not to be found at home; and if public buildings and places or public amusement were more numerous and more magnificent than with us, it was

[62] Epist. X. 71, 72.

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only because the fewer wants of the people obliged them to a less unremitting industry, and while the stimulus of diversion was more easily procured in the amphitheatre or the colonnade, the neglected state of their individual dwellings could be endured without any sensation of wretchedness.

Of the security of property.

Of the security of property in the Roman empire we should judge unfavourably, if we compared it with the unrivalled protection which it actually enjoys in most countries of modern Europe. Yet our ancestors, less than a century ago, would have had little reason to exult over the Romans; when Johnson might apply with justice to London the picture drawn by Juvenal of the outrages nightly committed in the streets of Rome, when highway robbery was constantly expected and often experienced by every traveller, and a still more audacious system of rapine was yet unscrupulously practised in the highlands of Scotland. Even at that period, however, we should have been surprised to hear of such acts as those noticed in one of Pliny's letters [63]; where he mentions the total disappearance of a distinguished individual of the equestrian order in the neighbourhood of Ocriculum, that is in the very heart of Italy, about seventy miles from Rome. No traces of his fate were to be discovered, and the same thing had happened a short time before to a citizen of Comum, when travelling homewards with a large sum of money from Rome. To these dangers of travelling

[63] Epist. VI. 25.

must be added, at least in the provinces, the oppressions and vexations which poor and humble men often suffered from their more powerful neighbours, and for which under most of the provincial governors they could find no redress. Hence Columella [64] advises those who were purchasing estates to make themselves first acquainted with the characters of their neighbours; and he confirms his precept by his own experience, as one of his neighbours was continually felling his trees, robbing his plantations, and carrying off his cattle.

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Of the revenue.

We have spoken at some length of the Roman revenue in our survey of the empire during the reign of Augustus. To the account of it there given we have little to add, except to observe, that its amount varied largely under different emperors; that Galba for example lightened considerably the public burdens [65], while Vespasianus [66] again imposed the taxes which had been taken off, and carried the exactions of the treasury to the highest pitch. The most fruitful sources of revenue, as far as Roman citizens were concerned, were to be found in the Julian and Papian laws, and in the legacy duty of five per cent., which, as we have seen, Trajanus considerably moderated. By the former, unmarried men between twenty and sixty [67], and even married men between twenty-five and sixty if they had never had any children, were incapable of inheriting from any but

[64] De Re Rusticâ, I. 3.
[65] Suetonius, in Galba, 15.
[66] Suetonius, in Vespasiano, 16.
[67] Hugo, Geschichte des Römischen Rechts, 623, et seq.

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their nearest relations, and the property bequeathed to them devolved upon the treasury. The provincials were subject to a land-tax and poll-tax, and to those other impositions which we have formerly noticed when speaking of this subject. They were besides burdened with the maintenance of the Roman magistrates by whom they were governed; and if the ordinary expenses of the proconsul or procurator were provided for by a fixed sum raised for the purpose, yet when they travelled through the province they demanded what they thought proper for the support of themselves [68] and their domestic establishment, from the inhabitants of the district wherein they happened to stop. Sometimes, too, the provincial cities were expected to send a deputation to Rome [69] every year with a loyal address to the emperor, or to welcome their proconsul on his first arrival amongst them. To this must be added the various exactions which they often suffered from the oppression of their governors; although in the reign of Trajanus offenders of this kind were frequently brought to trial, and sometimes to punishment.

State of literature.

2. We have already expressed our opinion, that the merits of Roman literature, even in its most flourishing period, have been greatly overrated; and we believe that a review of its condition at the end of the first century of the Christian era, might tend to lessen our wonder at the ignorance which afterwards prevailed throughout Europe. Our first im-

[68] Pliny, Epist. IX. 33.

[69] Pliny, Epist. X. 52.

pression would probably be highly favourable: we meet with the names of a great many writers, whose reputation is even now eminent; we know that learning was not only held in honour in the eastern provinces, where it had been long since cultivated, but that Gaul, and Spain, and Africa abounded with schools and orators, and that a taste for literary studies had been introduced even into Britain. The names of the most distinguished orators at Rome were familiarly known in the remotest parts of the empire, and any splendid passages in their speeches were copied out by the provincial students, and sent down to their friends at home to excite their admiration, and serve as models for their imitation. Even the Roman laws, once so cold and so disdainful of literature and the fine arts, had in some points adopted a more conciliating language; and the profession of a Sophist [70] was a legal exemption from the duties of a juryman in the conventus or circuits of the provincial judges. The age of Trajanus then had greatly the advantage over that of Augustus in the more general diffusion of knowledge, while in the comparison of individual writers the eminence which Virgil and Horace attained in poetry was at least equalled by the historical fame of Tacitus. But although knowledge was more common than it had been a century before, still its range was necessarily confined; nor before the invention of printing could it possibly be otherwise. Pliny expresses [71] his sur-

[70] Pliny, Epist. X. 66.

[71] Pliny, Epist. IX. 11.

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prise at hearing that there was a bookseller's shop to be found at Lugdunum or Lyons: yet this very city had been for a long time the scene of public recitations in Greek and Latin, in which the orators of Gaul contended for the prize of eloquence. Thus, instead of the various clubs, reading-rooms, circulating libraries, and book-societies, which make so many thousands in our day acquainted with every new publication worthy of notice, it was the practice of authors at Rome to read aloud their compositions to a large audience of their friends and acquaintance; and not only poetry and orations were thus recited, but also works of history [72]. To attend these readings was often naturally enough considered rather an irksome civility; they who went at first reluctantly were apt to be but languid auditors; and we all know, that even to those most fond of literature, it is no agreeable task to sit hour after hour the unemployed and constrained listeners alike to the eloquence or dulness, to the sense or folly of another. The weariness then of the audience was to be relieved by the selection of brilliant and forcible passages; their feelings were to be gratified rather than their understandings; and amidst the excitement of a crowded hall and an impassioned recitation, there was no room for that silent exercise of judgment and reflection which alone leads to wisdom. From this habit then of hearing books rather than reading them, it was natural that poetry and oratory should

[72] Pliny, Epist. VII. 17; IX. 27. Compare also I. 13; VI. 15; VIII. 12.

be the most popular kinds of literature; and that history, as we have observed in our notice of the Roman historians, should be tempted to assume the charms of oratory, in order to procure for itself an audience. A detail of facts cannot be remembered by being once heard; and many of the most useful inquiries or discussions in history, however valuable to the thoughtful student, are not the best calculated to win the attention of a mixed audience, when orally delivered. The scarcity of books therefore, inducing the practice of reading them aloud to many hearers, instead of reserving them for hours of solitude and undisturbed thought, may be considered as one of the chief causes of the false luxuriance of literature at Rome in the reigns of the first emperors, and of its early and complete decay. We have already noticed the unworthy ideas which the Romans entertained of its nature, and how completely they degraded it into a mere plaything of men's prosperous hours, an elegant amusement, and an embellishment of life, not a matter of serious use to individuals and to the state. Works of physical science, and much more such as tend to illustrate the useful arts, were therefore almost unknown; so also were books of travels, details of statistics, and every thing relating to political economy. Had books of this description been numerous, it would indeed have been strange if the Roman empire had afterwards relapsed into ignorance. The nations by whom it was overrun would readily have appreciated the benefits of a knowledge

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which daily made life more comfortable, and nations more enlightened and more prosperous; and the advantages of cultivating the understanding would have been as obvious to men of every condition in Rome, as they are actually at the present time in England, Germany, and America. As a proof of this, we may observe, that the only two kinds of really valuable knowledge which the Romans had to communicate to their northern conquerors were both adopted by them with eagerness; we mean their law and their religion. The Roman code found its way, or rather retained much of its authority in the kingdoms founded upon the ruins of the Roman empire, and its wisdom imperceptibly influenced the law of those countries which affected most to regard it with jealousy and aversion. And the Christian religion, in like manner, survived the confusion of the fourth and fifth centuries, and continually exercised its beneficent power in ensuring individual happiness, and lessening the amount of public misery. If, together with these, Rome could have offered to her conquerors an enlarged knowledge of nature and of the useful arts, and clear views of the principles of political economy, and the higher science of legislation in general, we need not doubt that they would have accepted these gifts also, and that thus the corruption to which her law and religion were exposed, would have been in a great measure obviated. For it is a most important truth, and one which requires at this day to be most earnestly enforced, that it is by the study of facts, whether relating to nature or to

man, and not by any pretended cultivation of the mind by poetry, oratory, and moral or critical dissertations, that the understandings of mankind in general will be most improved, and their views of things rendered most accurate. And the reason of this is, that every man has a fondness for knowledge of some kind; and by acquainting himself with those facts or truths which are most suited to his taste, he finds himself gaining something, the value of which he can appreciate, and in the pursuit of which, therefore, all his natural faculties will be best developed. From the mass of varied knowledge thus possessed by the several members of the community, arises the great characteristic of a really enlightened age, a sound and sensible judgment; a quality which can only be formed by the habit of regarding things in different lights, as they appear to intelligent men of different pursuits and in different classes of society, and by thus correcting the limited notions to which the greatest minds are liable, when left to indulge without a corrective in their own peculiar train of opinions. Want of judgment, therefore, is the prevailing defect in all periods of imperfect civilization, and in those wherein the showy branches of literature have been forced by patronage, while the more beneficial parts of knowledge have been neglected. Nor is it to the purpose to say, that the study of facts is of no benefit, unless we form from them some general conclusions. The disease of the human mind is impatiently to anticipate conclusions, so little danger is there that it will be slow in deducing

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them when it is once in possession of premises from which they may justly be derived. But, on the other hand, wherever words and striking images are mainly studied, as was the case in ancient Rome, man's natural indolence is encouraged, and he proceeds at once to reason without taking the trouble of providing himself with the necessary materials. Eloquence, indeed, and great natural ability may, in the most favourable instances, disguise to the vulgar the shallowness which lurks beneath them; but with the mass of mankind this system is altogether fatal. Learning, in the only shape in which it presents itself to their eyes, is to them utterly useless: they have no desire to pursue it, and if they had such, their pursuit would be fruitless. They remain therefore in their natural ignorance; not partaking in the pretended cultivation of their age, and feeling no deprivation when the ill-rooted literature which was the mere amusement of the great and wealthy, is swept away by the first considerable revolution in the state of society.

The decay of learning, then, which we are called to account for, is of all things the most readily explained. Unsubstantial as it was, it would have worn out of itself, as it did at Constantinople, even if no external violence had overwhelmed it. Facts indeed, whether physical or moral, are a food which will not only preserve the mind in vigour, but increasing in number with every successive century, furnish it with the means of an almost infinite progress. But the changes on words and sentiments

are soon capable of being exhausted; the earliest writers seize the best and happiest combinations, and nothing is left for their successors but imitation or necessary inferiority. Poetry had fallen sufficiently low in the hands of Silius Italicus, and history in those of Appian and Dion Cassius; the Romans themselves in the reign of Trajanus acknowledged their inferiority to their ancestors in oratory, and in a few centuries more the vessel was drained out to the dregs. The great excellence of Tacitus is a mere individual instance, and we might as well ask, why Rome had produced no historian of equal merit before him, as why she produced none such after him. One other great man had died only a few years before the accession of Trajanus, whose example, had it been imitated, might have produced a great revolution in the intellectual state of the Roman empire. We speak of the elder Pliny, the natural historian. The particulars of his life and death, recorded by his nephew, no less than the contents of his own work, display a thirst after real knowledge, and an active spirit in searching for it by a personal study of the great book of nature, which rose far above the false views and the literary indolence of his contemporaries. But he was a splendid exception to the spirit of his age, and there arose none to tread in his steps. Posterity were contented to read his writings, rather than improve upon them by imitating his example; and his authority continued to be quoted with reverence on all points of natural history, even down to a period when errors, which in

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him were unavoidable, could no longer be repeated without disgrace.

It may be asked, however, why the example of Pliny was not followed, and why the most valuable parts of human knowledge were so unhappily neglected. In addition to the cause which we have already mentioned, namely, the scarcity of books, the practice of recitations, and the consequent discouragement of any compositions that were not lively and eloquent, there are several other circumstances which tended to produce the same effect. The natural indolence of mankind and their attachment to the old beaten track were powerful obstacles to the improvements that were most required; and if so many centuries elapsed in later times before the birth of Bacon, we need not wonder that no man of equal powers with Pliny arose at Rome between the age of Trajanus and the fall of the western empire. We must consider also the general helplessness of mind produced by such a government as that of Rome; which, while it deprived men of the noblest field for their exertions, a participation direct or indirect in the management of the affairs of the nation, did not, like some modern despotisms, encourage activity of another kind, by its patronage of manufactures and commerce. If we ask, further, why commerce did not thrive of itself without the aid of the government, and why the internal trade kept up between the different parts of an empire so admirably supplied with the means of mutual intercourse was not on a scale of the greatest magnitude, the

answer is to be found partly in the habits of the nations of the south of Europe, which, with some exceptions, have never been addicted to much commercial enterprise, and much more to the want of capital amongst private individuals, and the absence of a demand for distant commodities amongst the people at large, owing to their general poverty. The enormous sums lavished by the emperors and possessed by some of the nobility, or by fortunate individuals of the inferior classes, have provoked the scepticism of many modern readers, as implying a mass of wealth in the Roman empire utterly incredible. They rather show how unequally property was distributed; an evil of very long standing at Rome, and aggravated probably by the merciless exactions of many of the emperors, who seemed literally unsatisfied so long as any of their subjects possessed any thing. The Indian trade, which furnished articles of luxury for the consumption of the great, was therefore in a flourishing condition; but not so that internal commerce in articles of ordinary comfort, which in most countries of modern Europe is carried on with such incessant activity. Where trade is at a low ebb, the means of communication between different countries are always defective; and hence there exists undisturbed a large amount of inactivity and ignorance, and a necessarily low state of physical science and the study of nature. So that from all these causes together, there would result that effect on the intellectual condition of the Roman empire, which we have described as so unfavourable.

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Of the moral state of the empire.

From this unsatisfactory picture we turn with delight to the contemplation of a promise and of a partial beginning of moral improvement, such as Rome had never seen before. We need not dwell upon the need that there was for such a reform, except to observe, that there can be no better proof of a degraded state of morals, than the want of natural affection in parents towards their offspring; and that the practice of infanticide[73], or that of exposing children soon after their birth, together with the fact that Trajanus found it necessary to provide for five thousand children at the public expense, and that Pliny imitated his example on a smaller scale in his own town of Comum, sufficiently show how greatly parents neglected their most natural duty. It is remarkable, also, that the younger Pliny, a man by no means destitute of virtue, could not only write and circulate indecent verses, but deliberately justify himself for having done so[74]. Yet, with all this, the writings of Epictetus and M. Aurelius Antoninus, if we may include the latter in a review of the reign of Trajanus, present a far purer and truer morality than the Romans had yet been acquainted with from any heathen pen. The providence of God, the gratitude which we owe

Of the stoic philosophy.

[73] Is not the prevalence of infanticide among the Romans indicated by the observation which Tacitus makes concerning the Jews? Hist. V. 5,—"Augendæ multitudini consulitur. Nam necare quamquam ex agnatis, nefas." And, again, he says the same thing of the Germans. German. 19,—"Numerum liberorum finire, aut quemquam ex agnatis necare, flagitium habetur."

[74] Epist. IV. 14; V. 3.

Him for all his gifts, and the duty of submission to his will, are prominently brought forward; while the duties of man to man, the claims which our neighbours have upon our constant exertions to do them service, and the excellence of abstaining from revenge or uncharitable feelings, are enforced with far greater earnestness than in the writings of the older philosophers. We cannot, indeed, refuse to admire the noble effort of the stoic philosophy to release mankind from the pressure of physical evil, and to direct their minds with undivided affection to the pursuit of moral good. When the prospect beyond the grave was all darkness, the apparently confused scene of human life could not but perplex the best and wisest; sickness, loss of friends, poverty, slavery, or an untimely death, might visit him who had laboured most steadily in the practice of virtue; and even Aristotle himself[75] is forced with his own hands to destroy the theory of happiness which he had so elaborately formed, by the confession that the purest virtue might be so assailed with external evils that it could only preserve its possessor from absolute misery. The stoics assumed a bolder language, and strove with admirable firmness to convince reluctant nature of its truth. Happiness, as they taught, was neither unattainable by man, nor dependent on external circumstances; the providence of God had not[76], according to the vulgar complaint, scattered

Its excellencies.

[75] Ethic. Nicomach. I. 10, Ἄθλιος μὲν οὐδέποτε γένοιτ' ἂν ὁ εὐδαίμων, οὐ μὴν μακάριός γε, ἂν Πριαμικαῖς τύχαις περιπέσῃ.

[76] Epictetus, Enchiridion, 38.

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good and evil indiscriminately upon the virtuous and the wicked; the gifts and the deprivations of fortune were neither good nor evil; and all that was really good was virtue, all that was really bad was vice, which were respectively chosen by men at their own will, and so chosen that the distribution of happiness and misery to each was in exact proportion to his own deservings. But as it was not possible to attain to this estimate of external things without the most severe discipline, the stoics taught their disciples to desire nothing at all [77], till they had so changed their nature as to desire nothing but what was really good. In the same way they inculcated an absence of all feelings, in order to avoid subjecting ourselves to any other power than that of reason. When our friends were in distress [78], we might appear outwardly to sympathize with their sorrow, but we were by no means to grieve with them in heart; a parent should not be roused to punish his son [79], for it was better that the son should turn out ill, than that the father should be diverted from the care of his own mind by his interest for another. Death was to be regarded as the common lot of all [80], and the frailty of our nature should accustom us to view it without surprise and alarm. In itself it must be an extinction of being [81], or a translation to another state, still equally under the government of a wise and good Providence; it could not then be justly an object

[77] Epictetus, Enchiridion, 7.
[78] Epictetus, Enchiridion, 22.
[79] Epictetus, Enchiridion, 16.
[80] M. Antoninus, III. IV.
[81] M. Antoninus, VII.

of fear, and our only care should be to wait for its coming without anxiety, and to improve the time allotted to us before its arrival, whether it were but a day or half a century.

Its imperfections.

Such were the doctrines of the stoic philosophers of the age of Trajanus; and assuredly it must be a strange blindness or uncharitableness that can refuse to admire them. He can entertain but unworthy notions of the wisdom of God, who is afraid lest the wisdom of man should rival it. The stoic philosophy was unfitted for the weakness of human nature; its contempt of physical evil was revolting to the common sense of mankind, and was absolutely unattainable by persons of delicate bodily constitutions; and thus, generally speaking, by one-half of the human race, and particularly by that sex which under a wiser discipline has been found capable of attaining to such high excellence. Above all, it could not represent God to man under those peculiar characters, in which every affection and faculty of our nature finds its proper object and guide. There are many passages in the works of Epictetus and M. Antoninus, in which his general providence and our duties towards Him are forcibly declared; still He seems to be at the most no more than a part of their system, and that neither the most striking, nor the most fully developed. But in order to make us like Him, it was necessary that in all our views of life, in our motives, in our hopes, and in our affections, God should be all in all; that He should be represented to us, not as He is in

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Himself, but as He stands related to us,—as our Father, and our Saviour, and the Author of all our goodness; in those characters, in short, under which the otherwise incomprehensible Deity had so revealed himself as to be known and loved, not only by the strongest and wisest of his creatures, but also by the weak and the ignorant.

One great defect in the ancient systems of philosophy was their want of authority. It was opinion opposed to opinion, and thus the disputes of the several sects seemed incapable of ever arriving at a decision. Plain men, therefore, were bewildered by the conflicting pretensions of their teachers, when they turned to seek some relief from the utter folly and worthlessness of the popular religion. So that a large portion of mankind were likely to adopt the advice of Lucian [82], to regard with contempt all the high discussions of the philosophers relating to the end and principle of our being, and to think only of the present, bestowing serious thoughts upon nothing, and endeavouring to pass through life laughingly. Something, too, must be ascribed not only to the discordant opinions of the philosophers, but to their reputed dishonesty, and the suspicion which attached to them of turning morality into a trade. Their temptations were strong, and such as we have seen even the teachers of Christianity unable often to resist. In an age of ignorance, just made conscious of its own deficiencies, any moral and intellectual

[82] Necyomanteia, 166.

superiority is regarded with veneration; and when the sophists professed to teach men the true business of life, they found many who were eager to listen to them. Then followed an aggravation of the evils of popular preaching under another name: the sophists aspired to be orators as well as moralists; and their success would depend as much on their eloquence and impressive delivery, as on the soundness of their doctrines. In the eastern part of the empire their ascendancy was great; and if the story of Philostratus be true [83], the philosophers in Egypt formed as considerable a body, and, during the stay of Vespasianus at Alexandria, claimed the right of advising princes as boldly as the Romish clergy of a later period have done. With these means of influence, and the consequent temptation to abuse it, the sophists were without that organization and discipline, which in the Christian church preserved the purity, or checked the excesses of individual teachers; and not being responsible to any one for their conduct, they were less scrupulous in avoiding censure. The same want of organization prevented them from acting in concert in the several parts of the empire, and from directing their attention on a regular system to all classes of the community from the highest to the lowest. The sophists were no missionaries, and poor or remote districts, which could tempt neither their cupidity nor their ambition, derived little advantage from their knowledge.

[83] In vitâ Apollonii Tyanei, V. 27, et seq.

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Under these circumstances, the Christian religion had grown with surprising rapidity, and must have produced effects on the character and happiness of individuals, far greater than the common details of history will allow us to estimate. If our sole information were derived from Pliny's famous "Letter," we must yet be struck with the first instance in Roman history of a society for the encouragement of the highest virtues, those of piety, integrity, and purity, and embracing persons of both sexes and of all conditions. Such a project was, indeed, a complete remedy for the prevailing faults of the times; it promised not only to *teach* goodness, but actively to disseminate it; and to do away those degrading distinctions between slaves and freemen, and even between men and women, which had so limited the views of the philosophers in their plans for the improvement of mankind. Of all subjects for history none would be so profitable as the fortunes of the Christian society; to trace the various causes which impeded or corrupted its operations, and to bring at the same time fully into view, that vast amount of good which its inherent excellence enabled it still to effect, amidst all external obstacles and internal corruptions. We think that its friends have not rightly understood the several elements which have led to its partial failure, while we are certain that its enemies can never appreciate its benefits. But we must not enter upon this most inviting field at present; and from the long, but very imperfect survey which we have attempted to give of the state

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of the empire, we must at last return to the history of Trajanus, and hasten to conclude this memoir, after we have briefly noticed the character of his individual government, and his expedition into the East.

Of the government of Trajanus.

The highest spirit of a sovereign is to labour to bring his government, in every point of view, as nearly as possible to a state of absolute perfection; his next highest praise is to administer the system which he finds established, with the greatest purity and liberality. This glory was certainly deserved by Trajanus; and although he never thought of amending some of the greatest evils of the times, yet, as far as his people had suffered from the direct tyranny and wastefulness of former governments, his reign was a complete relief; and we can easily account for the warm affection with which his memory was so long regarded in after-ages. He pleased the Romans by observing many of the forms of a free constitution; nor ought we to suspect that in so doing he was actuated by policy only, for he was quite capable of feeling the superior dignity of the magistrate of a free people to that of a tyrant; and he most probably spoke from his heart, when on presenting the sword to the præfect of the prætorian guards, he desired him to use that weapon in his service so long as he governed well, but to turn it against him if ever he should abuse his power [84]. There is the same spirit observable in his conduct

[84] Dion Cassius, LXVIII. 778. Sex. Aur. Victor. in Trajano.

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during his third consulship: as soon as he had been elected, he walked up to the chair of the consul who presided at the comitia, and whilst he stood before it, the consul, without rising from his seat[85], administered to him the usual consular oath, that he would discharge his office faithfully. And when his consulship had expired, he again took an oath[86], that he had done nothing, during the time that he had held it, which was contrary to law. These professions of regard to the welfare of his people were well verified by his actions. His suppression of the informers; his discouraging prosecutions under the "leges majestatis;" his relaxation of the tax on inheritances; and the impartiality with which he suffered the law to take its course against his own procurators, when they were guilty of any abuse of power, were all real proofs of his sincerity; and they were not belied by any subsequent measures at a later period of his reign. The causes which were brought before himself immediately, he tried with fairness and attention[87]; and it was on an occasion of this kind, when Eurythmus, one of his freedmen and procurators, was implicated in a charge of tampering with a will, and the prosecutors seemed reluctant to press their accusation against a person so connected with the emperor, that he observed to them, "Eurythmus is not a Polycletus," (one of the most powerful of Nero's freedmen and favourites,) "nor am I a Nero." In his care of the provinces,

[85] Pliny, Panegyric. 64.
[86] Pliny, Panegyric. 65.
[87] Pliny, Epist. VI. 31.

and in his answers to the questions to him by the younger Pliny, when proconsul of Bithynia, he manifested a love of justice, an attention to the comforts of the people, and a minute knowledge of the details of the administration, which are most highly creditable to him. It is mentioned, too, that he was very careful in noticing the good conduct of the officers employed in the provinces[88]; and considered the testimonials of regard given by a province to its governor, as affording him a just title to higher distinctions at Rome. The materials for the history of this reign are, indeed, so scanty, that we know scarcely any thing of the lives and characters of the men who were most distinguished under it, nor can we enliven our narrative with many of those biographical sketches, which, by bringing out individuals in a clear and strong light, illustrate most happily the general picture of the age. But C. Plinius Secundus, whom Trajanus made proconsul of Bithynia, affords one memorable exception; and we gladly seize this opportunity to bestow some particular notice on one of the most distinguished persons who lived in these times.

Pliny the younger.

C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus was born at or near Comum, about the sixth year of the reign of Nero, or A.D. 61. His mother was a sister of C. Plinius, the natural historian; and as he lost his father at an early period, he removed with her to the house of his uncle, with whom he resided for some years, and

[88] Pliny, Panegyric. 70.

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was adopted by him, and, consequently, assumed his name in addition to his parental one, Cæcilius. He appears to have been of a delicate constitution, and even in his youth to have possessed little personal activity and enterprise; for at the time of the famous eruption of Vesuvius, when he was between seventeen and eighteen, he continued his studies at home, and allowed his uncle to set out to the mountain without him. In literature, however, he made considerable progress, according to the estimate of those times; he composed a Greek tragedy when he was only fourteen [89], and wrote Latin verses on several occasions throughout his life; he attended the lectures of Quinctilianus [90], and some other eminent rhetoricians, and assiduously cultivated his style as an elegant writer and an orator. In this latter capacity he acquired great credit, and to this cause he was probably indebted for his political advancement. He went through the whole succession of public offices, from that of quæstor to the high dignities of consul and augur, and was so esteemed by Trajanus as to be selected by him for the government of Bithynia, because there were many abuses in that province, which required a man of ability and integrity to remove them [91]. The trust so honourably committed to him he seems to have discharged with great fidelity; and the attention to every branch of his duties, which his letters to Trajanus display, is peculiarly praiseworthy in a man

[89] Pliny, Panegyric. VII. 4.
[90] Pliny, Panegyric. II. 14.
[91] Pliny, Panegyric. X. 41.

of sedentary habits, and accustomed to the enjoyments of his villas, and the stimulants of literary glory at Rome. His character as a husband, a master, and a friend, was affectionate, kind, and generous; he displayed also a noble liberality towards his native town, Comum, by forming a public library there, and devoting a yearly sum of 300,000 sesterces for ever to the maintenance of children born of free parents who were citizens of Comum. A man like Plinius, of considerable talents and learning, possessed of great wealth, and of an amiable and generous disposition, was sure to meet with many friends, and with still more who would gratify his vanity by their praises and apparent admiration of his abilities. But as a writer he has done nothing to entitle him to a very high place in the judgment of posterity. His panegyric of Trajanus belongs to a class of compositions, the whole object of which was to produce a striking effect, and it must not aspire to any greater reward. It is ingenious and eloquent, but by its very nature it gives no room for the exercise of the highest faculties of the mind, nor will its readers derive from it any more substantial benefit than the pleasure which a mere elegant composition can afford. His letters are valuable to us, as all original letters of other times must be, because they necessarily throw much light on the period at which they were written. But many of them are ridiculously studied, and leave the impression, so fatal to our interest in the perusal of such compositions, that they were written for the ex-

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press purpose of publication. In short, the works of Plinius, compared with the reputation which he enjoyed among his contemporaries, seem to us greatly to confirm the view which we have taken of the inferiority of the literature of this period, and of the unworthy notions which were entertained of its proper excellence.

The eastern expedition of Trajanus.

It was in the seventeenth year of the reign of Trajanus, after a peaceful period of seven or eight years, that war again broke out in the East, and the Roman and the Parthian empires became involved in direct hostilities with each other. We are neither acquainted with the causes of the quarrel, nor with the precise period of its commencement; but we are merely told, that the chief operations of the first campaign consisted in the capture of Nisibis and Batnæ[92], towns of Mesopotamia, and that for these successes, the senate bestowed on the emperor the title of Parthicus. Nisibis is a name which often occurs in the history of the subsequent wars between Rome and Persia; and Batnæ was a Macedonian colony[93], and the seat of a celebrated fair, held annually in the month of September, to which there was a general resort of merchants for the purchase of commodities of India, China, and other parts of the East. On the approach of winter, Trajanus returned to Antioch, and during his stay in that city it was visited by a most fatal earthquake, which

[92] Dion Cassius, LXVIII. 781.
[93] Ammian. Marcel. XIV. 7, edit. Vales.

lasted for several days, and destroyed a vast multitude of persons of every condition; Trajanus himself, it is said, escaping with difficulty from the ruin of the house in which he was residing[94]. The next campaign presents us with a series of rapid and short-lived conquests, such as the East has often witnessed. It appears that the moment was happily chosen, for the Parthian monarchy was torn by intestine contests, and was unable to offer any resistance, so that the advance of the Roman troops was a triumphant progress, and they crossed the Tigris, overran Adiabene, were gratified by visiting Babylon as conquerors, and finally took Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian empire. Trajanus, elated with these successes, and emulating the glory of Alexander while he traversed the countries which had been the scene of his exploits, descended the Tigris to its mouth, to behold the Persian Gulf; and it is said, that seeing there a vessel ready to sail for India, he exclaimed that if he were a younger man he would carry his arms against the Indians. But on his return from the sea-coast of Babylon, he learned how sudden are the vicissitudes of Asiatic warfare. While he had been dreaming of the invasion of India, his conquests of the preceding year were vanishing from his grasp. As soon as the immediate terror of his army was withdrawn, the countries which he had overrun shook off the yoke, and Nisibis, amongst other places, either

[94] Dion Cassius, ubi supra.

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drove out or reduced the Roman garrison, and recovered its independence. Nor were the efforts of Trajanus as successful as they had been in the preceding summer. Nisibis, indeed, was retaken, and the emperor enjoyed the empty glory of giving away the crown of Parthia to a prince whom Dion Cassius calls Parthamaspates, and whose reign was likely to last no longer than whilst the Romans were at hand to protect him. But Maximus, a man of consular rank, on whom Trajanus had bestowed the command of a separate army, was defeated and slain in Mesopotamia; and Trajanus himself closed the campaign with disgrace, after having lost a great number of men in a fruitless siege of Hatra [95], a small town of Mesopotamia, standing in the midst of a desert, and protected by the utter barrenness of the country around it, and the scarcity of fresh water. At the end of the season the Romans fell back into Syria, with the hope of renewing their invasion of Mesopotamia in the following spring; but Trajanus was seized with a lingering illness, which obliged him to resign all thoughts of taking the command in person; and he wished, therefore, to return himself to Rome, leaving the army to the care of Ælius Hadrianus, a native of the Spanish town of Italica, in which he had himself been born, and who had married his niece. As he had no children, the state of his health excited great anxiety as to the person whom he would adopt as his successor, and his wife Plotina

His sickness and death.

[95] See Ammian. Marcel. XXV. 301.

is said to have used all her influence in favour of Hadrianus; but it was generally believed that she could never persuade her husband to adopt him, and that the instrument which she produced, and sent to Hadrianus at Antioch immediately before the death of Trajanus, was in reality a forgery of her own. It was known, at least, that she was present with the emperor when he died, and that she took care that no particulars of his illness should transpire, but such as she chose herself to circulate. Trajanus died at Selinus in Cilicia[96], in the month of August, A.D. 117, after a reign of nineteen years, and a little more than six months.

In addition to what we have said of his public character, we may add, that he was an affectionate husband and brother; and that the cordiality which subsisted between his wife Plotina and his sister Mariana[97] was thought to reflect honour not only on themselves but on him. It is said by Sex. Victor, that he was addicted to intemperance in drinking; and the circumstance of his being dropsical in his last illness agrees with this imputation. But as a sovereign, his popularity during his lifetime was equalled by the regard entertained for his memory by posterity; and his claim to the title of Optimus, which the senate solemnly bestowed on him, was confirmed by the voice of succeeding times; inasmuch as for two hundred years after his death the

[96] Dion Cassius, LXVIII. 786. [97] Pliny, Panegyric. 83, 84.

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senate [98], in pouring forth their prayers for the happiness of a new emperor, were accustomed to wish that he might surpass the prosperity of Augustus and the goodness of Trajanus.

[98] Eutropius, in Trajano, VIII.

THE END.

GILBERT & RIVINGTON, Printers, St. John's Square, London.

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